

# IN THESE TIMES



The Klan  
is back  
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VOL. 5, NO. 42

OCTOBER 28-NOVEMBER 3, 1981

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Don't Shred  
on Me

The Freedom of  
Information Act  
is under attack  
from several  
quarters—and  
the most  
publicized  
assault may not  
be the most  
dangerous.  
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France, Inc.

Mitterrand makes his move on  
nationalization.

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# THE INSIDE STORY



A national health service is one of six proposals in the Machinists' "Rational Reindustrialization" plan.

## Machinists have some better ideas

By David Moberg

It isn't necessary to eliminate government, shift more wealth to the wealthy, bludgeon workers and leave the business of America to business *a la* Reagan in order to rebuild the American economy (even if such measures were likely to work). Nor is it necessary to make the federal government a more systematic source of corporate bail-outs and enforcer of worker austerity in the manner of investment banker Felix Rohatyn and his neo-liberal Democratic admirers.

Alternatives are emerging. The Machinists Union, for one, has developed a Rebuilding America Act that will be introduced in Congress later this year. And a more localized "Rational Reindustrialization" proposal produced for Detroit by a union economist and a policy analyst could be a model for similar exercises elsewhere.

Both plans affirm the need for direct public intervention in the "supply side" of the economy (not just tinkering with demand, money and taxes).

The Machinist proposal explicitly redefines the rights and responsibilities of private property, providing for both the uniform enforcement of a broad social contract between large corporations and society and the encouragement of new forms of property (public equity in private firms, co-ops or worker-community enterprises, for example).

Neither the market nor private enterprise would be abandoned, but both would operate within the framework of a democratically formulated plan. That plan would not only correct many of the imperfections of the market and restrain private business abuses but also enhance the productivity of the private companies.

Drawing on the experiences and proposals of the European left and labor movement, on earlier legislative proposals in Congress and on the work of American left intellectuals, the Machinists drew up a six-part proposal:

(1) *Rebuilding America's inner cities* would be accomplished through an off-budget independent Federal Financing Bank that would make low-interest, long-term loans to Community Development Corporations in depressed inner cities. Money would be available for basic infrastructure (streets, sewers, transportation), provision of fundamental needs (local safe energy projects, such as cogeneration or solar, or cooperative

housing), social services (medical centers, day care or alternative media) and private business (in exchange for the CDC paying-insurance premiums and payroll taxes the businesses would have to agree to respect worker rights, the environment and affirmative action laws).

(2) *Rebuilding foreign trade* would require strong coordination and encouragement by the federal government. Although the proposal emphasizes expansion of trade rather than protection, it also provides for restraining export of capital or import of goods if either threatens domestic economic growth and security or undermines standards of living for workers here and abroad.

There are two key clauses in this section: The federal government would require licenses for all exports of capital and technology. Also, it would enforce a reciprocal social and economic clause that would guarantee workers' rights, political democracy and protection of the environment as a condition for U.S. multinationals to operate overseas.

(3) *Achieving full employment and growth* at home requires making the dominant corporations directly responsible to the public, instituting domestic planning, protecting workers from corporate shutdowns and capital shifts and giving unions a central role in determining industrial policy.

Interstate private corporations would be federally chartered as "operating for the convenience and needs of the community" (as South Dakota's populist law already reads) and, consequently, would be bound by an economic and social clause guaranteeing human rights within the corporation, rights of employees to organize, protection of the health of workers and the environment, one year advance notice of shutdowns (any major closing or transfer would have to be justified in a public "show cause" hearing) and contribution of 1 percent of sales each year to a federal investment reserve fund.

A Domestic Investment and Production Agency would have powers to coordinate tax and regulatory policy, canvass the economy and determine economic and social priorities and develop a national plan. In troubled industries or failing companies, the agency could recommend loans, subsidies, consolidation, bankruptcy or public ownership, including either community-worker ownership or nationalization. In oligopolistic industries with persistent signs of inflation, targeted price controls could be introduced. A National Industrial Bank, financed initially with oil and gas windfall profits tax and a tax on domestic and foreign military sales, could also raise money from private individuals or pension funds and establish regional banks to loan to small businesses, government-private ventures, co-ops and other projects.

(4) *National energy policy* would emphasize a taxpayer-owned energy company and a federal oil-import authority along with price and allocation controls and encouragement of conservation and safe, renewable energy sources.

(5) *Substantial tax reductions* for lower-income people would be combined with closing corporate tax loopholes.

(6) *A comprehensive national health service*, following Rep. Ron Dellum's proposal, would be established.

In a separate but related initiative the Machinists Union is also setting up an internal program to teach union stewards and members at the local level how to develop alternative production plans for the factories in which they work. Modeled after the work done at Lucas Aerospace in England, where defense workers

came up with socially useful alternatives to military production, and a training program in Norway, the Machinists will bring together academics and engineers with workers so that they can learn how to ease the transition from military manufacture or to help fight unnecessary plant closings.

### Getting down to brass tacks.

In Detroit, Dan Luria, an economist with the United Auto Workers, and Jack Russell, policy analyst with the city council member Kenneth Cockrel, have come up with a fascinating proposal for "Rational Reindustrialization" of the city. (Their analysis is available for \$3 from Widgetripper Press, 19660 Stratford, Detroit, MI 48221.) The Machinist proposal focuses on the mechanisms of action, but leaves open the question of concrete directions—steel or computer chips, autos or fast food franchises? Luria and Russell attempt to come up with specific proposals for Detroit.

It becomes readily apparent, however, that the radically enlarged public role in rebuilding Detroit's economy that they envision for the city depends on national policy changes, and not only for financing and creation of legal public instruments for action. If there was a federal commitment to mass transit and railroads, for example, then Detroit could reasonably expect to shift some of its old capacity in that direction. But simply looking at the likely directions of the economy and at Detroit's needs and assets, Luria and Russell recommend manufacture of deep natural gas and heavy oil equipment, residential and industrial steam-electric cogeneration units, coal and diesel-powered industrial process engines and coal gasifiers to install at the mine mouth.

For people in other cities, the 10 criteria for reindustrialization choices that guided their ultimate conclusions about Detroit offer a valuable framework for analysis. (For example, will the new plan conserve existing capital, provide enough employment at traditional wage levels, counterbalance the cycles of existing industries and exploit the region's comparative advantage in skills, suppliers and location?)

Most important, they show how a strong public role and planning may be crucial for the conversion. Private industry, with its narrower, short-term focus and its unwillingness or inability to assess the whole social balance sheet, cannot easily take advantage of the linkages that can be made through public planning, many of which can reduce production costs without cutting workers' wages. And even if wages in the new ventures might be slightly less than in auto, the public role could guarantee other benefits for workers, such as greater job security and worker control on the job.

Luria and Russell argue that the popular hopes on the left for renewal through local, small-scale democratic enterprises ultimately rely on a more ambitious public reindustrialization plan. Moreover, they show that it is not necessary to destroy neighborhoods to build factories designed for cornfields, as Detroit did for the new Cadillac plant where Poletown once existed. For many industries, the old, multistory factories are not only usable but advantageous.

If the Machinist program were ever adopted nationally, then local plans on this order, helped along by alternative production schemes developed by workers and engineers, would be the cornerstones of America in the rebuilding. It may seem utopian now, but it can open up a new front in debate. That, in turn, could give a boost to the political revitalization that has to occur before either plan, for the nation or Detroit, has a chance.

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## IN THESE TIMES

# You have a right to know less and less

By Chuck Fager

WASHINGTON

**T**HE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION Act (FoIA)—which has been a major tool for uncovering government abuses of citizens' rights since its enactment in 1966—is under serious attack both by the Reagan administration and in Congress.

The main targets of the assault are amendments made to the Act in 1974 over the veto of then-president Gerald Ford, which extended the act to the FBI, CIA and other investigative agencies as well as other government departments. It was under these revised provisions that the Act produced many of its best-known revelations about government misdeeds. As columnist Jack Anderson noted recently in Congressional testimony, the amended FoIA "helped to uncover such scandals as the My Lai massacre, domestic spying by the CIA and the use of the Internal Revenue Service for political

purposes by the Nixon administration." And he concluded that "it would be impossible to overstate the importance of this landmark legislation."

Not surprisingly, the investigative agencies that resisted being placed under the Act's jurisdiction in the first place have been working ever since to repeal the law or at least exempt their own files. In the last few years they have gained numerous vocal supporters, particularly among the New Right members of Congress, and in January they were joined in their crusade by the Reagan administration.

Attacks on the Act have taken two forms, one highly visible and the other mostly unknown but perhaps more dangerous.

The visible thrust is a package of proposed amendments to the Act unveiled by Attorney General William French Smith on Oct. 15. Smith claims that the Act has hampered law enforcement intelligence work and is unnecessarily burdensome and expensive to comply with. The changes he has proposed include: raising

fees charged to citizens filing FoIA requests; extending time limits for agency responses; limited eligibility to use the Act; excluding many types of records now subject to disclosure (especially law enforcement and intelligence files); and giving corporations a chance to veto requests for information submitted by the corporations to government agencies.

Smith argued that these changes would "remedy the problem that has been identified while preserving the Act as an effective tool to keep the American public as informed as possible about the operations of its government."

But civil liberties and public interest groups have denounced the proposals. The ACLU has charged that the changes amounted to an "emasculatation" of FoIA that "nothing in the record justifies" and that "would substantially reduce public access to government information." Jack Landau, who heads the Reporters' Committee for Freedom of the Press, called

he has spoken very favorably of the Act. And even Republicans on his subcommittee, such as John Erlenborn (R-Ill.), have expressed skepticism about administration claims that the Act has hindered law enforcement and intelligence activities. Erlenborn suggested at a hearing last summer that such effects, if they exist, are likely to be the result of a "self-fulfilling prophecy" brought on by constant agency complaints.

## Proceeding through the back door.

But while prospects for the Smith package in the 97th Congress are mixed, at best, FoIA faces a more immediate threat in the form of a series of "backdoor" amendments now being offered, one by one, to various departmental bills. These amendments are possible because the Act, as now written, allows for exemptions to be made from its jurisdiction by separate statutes.

One such amendment was attached to the Reagan tax cut bill rushed through Congress last spring. It exempted the Internal Revenue Service from having to reveal how it selects income tax returns for audit. In the 96th Congress, similarly successful amendments placed new restrictions on public access to information about nuclear safeguard procedures, to certain documents generated by Federal Trade Commission investigations and to several other major federal programs.

These "backdoor" amendments are hard to spot because they are presented to the authorizing committee for that particular legislation—not to panels with jurisdiction over the FoIA. Moreover, the bills they are attached to become lengthy and complex, and come to the

## Even if Congress rejects the Reagan proposals, a long list of "backdoor" amendments to FoIA may render it virtually useless.



the proposals a "frontal attack" on FoIA. A coalition of 150 groups—including environmental, consumer, civil rights, academic, press, women's and religious organizations—has been formed to oppose these changes.

## Backing off in Congress.

The legislative maneuvering on these proposals has produced something of a stand-off for now. Utah Senator Orrin Hatch—a New Right Republican and strong advocate of restricting the Act—held a hearing on the administration's package the same day it was released and was prepared to move directly toward action on it by the judiciary subcommittee. But after strenuous complaints from opponents of the measures, Hatch agreed to hold at least one more hearing before pressing for Senate action.

On the House side, sentiment seems much more favorable to the Act as it is now written. Rep. Glenn English (D-Okla.), who chairs the House government information subcommittee, announced that he did not intend to begin consideration of the administration's proposals until after the Senate acts—which will probably put off the House hearings until well into next year, when the pressure of election-year politics will make floor action more difficult to get. "We thought we'd wait and see what Senator Hatch produces and whether the United States Senate agrees with him," English told the *Washington Post* on Oct. 19.

Though English is described as one of the most conservative House Democrats,

floor under considerable time pressure and in a hail of unrelated amendments.

FoIA amendments now known to be pending include: a blanket exemption for the Defense Intelligence Agency, proposed as an amendment to the DIA's authorization bill; a 10-year "moratorium" on release of practically all law enforcement, intelligence or counterterrorism files, introduced by Kansas Senator Robert Dole as an amendment to the Department of Justice authorization; and a virtually complete exemption from disclosure of any information (even unclassified data) relating to atomic energy defense programs, tacked onto the Department of Energy national security authorization act. There are likely to be more such amendments offered to other major agency bills.

Such backdoor amendments could quietly reduce the usefulness of FoIA one piece at a time, even as the administration's changes are defeated. Caught between these two thrusts, the Freedom of Information Act may soon cease to be a landmark and end up as a relic.

*Chuck Fager is national correspondent for the San Francisco Bay Guardian and writes frequently for alternative publications on national issues.*

*Note: In addition to the ACLU (600 Pennsylvania Ave. SE, Suite 301, Wash., DC 20003), two other groups are coordinating efforts in defense of FoIA: the Campaign for Political Rights (201 Massachusetts Ave. NE, Wash., DC 20002) and the Fund for Open Information and Accountability (339 Lafayette St., NY, NY 10012).*



Attorney General William French Smith claims that changes proposed by the administration would preserve FoIA as an "effective tool."



## IN SHORT

## It takes one to know one

A memo signed on Oct. 8, 1976, by Andrew Bailey, then chief of the mining operations branch of the Department of Interior's Geological Survey, instructed his staff: "When the Geological Survey has the lead in preparing environmental statements, inflammatory words such as disturbed, devastated, defiled, ravaged, gouged, scarred and destroyed should not be used. These are words used by the Sierra Club, Friends of the Earth, environmentalists, homosexuals, ecologists and other ideological eunuchs opposed to developing mining resources."

Sounds a lot like Interior Secretary James Watt, you say. Well, Watt recently chose Bailey to serve as acting chief of the Geological Survey's conservation division—another move that wasn't likely to please the 1.1 million ideological eunuchs who have signed the Sierra Club's petition to have Watt ousted. For his part, Bailey admits that he signed the 1976 memo, but claims that he didn't actually read it. "It's just one of those things that just arrived on his desk," a spokesman for Bailey told the *New York Times*.

## The lube tube

John Zeh, the producer of a gay radio show in Cincinnati, found himself charged with distributing obscene material to minors after reading a humorous spot about sexual lubricants on the air last January. It seems, Brooks Egerton reports, that some children told their father about the "Gaydreams" program on public radio station WAIF, and Zeh was soon visited by the police.

Judge Peter Outcalt dismissed felony obscenity charges against Zeh in late September, but Hamilton County prosecutor Simon Leis has said he will appeal the ruling. And Zeh's woes hardly stop there. "Sexual Subcultures in Cincinnati," the non-credit course he teaches at the University of Cincinnati, has been cancelled—in part, says university vice-president Ken Service, because of the "notoriety" surrounding him. The American Association of University Professors—along with a gay student group and a local gay academic organization—may take legal action in Zeh's behalf.

## Too close for comfort

Egerton also reports on a touching development in Zurich, Switzerland, where the International Football Federation (IFF) has told soccer players to quit all that sissy stuff they do after scoring goals. According to the UPI, a recent IFF bulletin declared: "The exultant outbursts of several players at once jumping on top of each other, kissing and embracing is really excessive and inappropriate and should be banned..." An IFF committee is moving to punish overheated players, asserting that simple congratulations will have to suffice from now on.

## What's new, ICFTU?

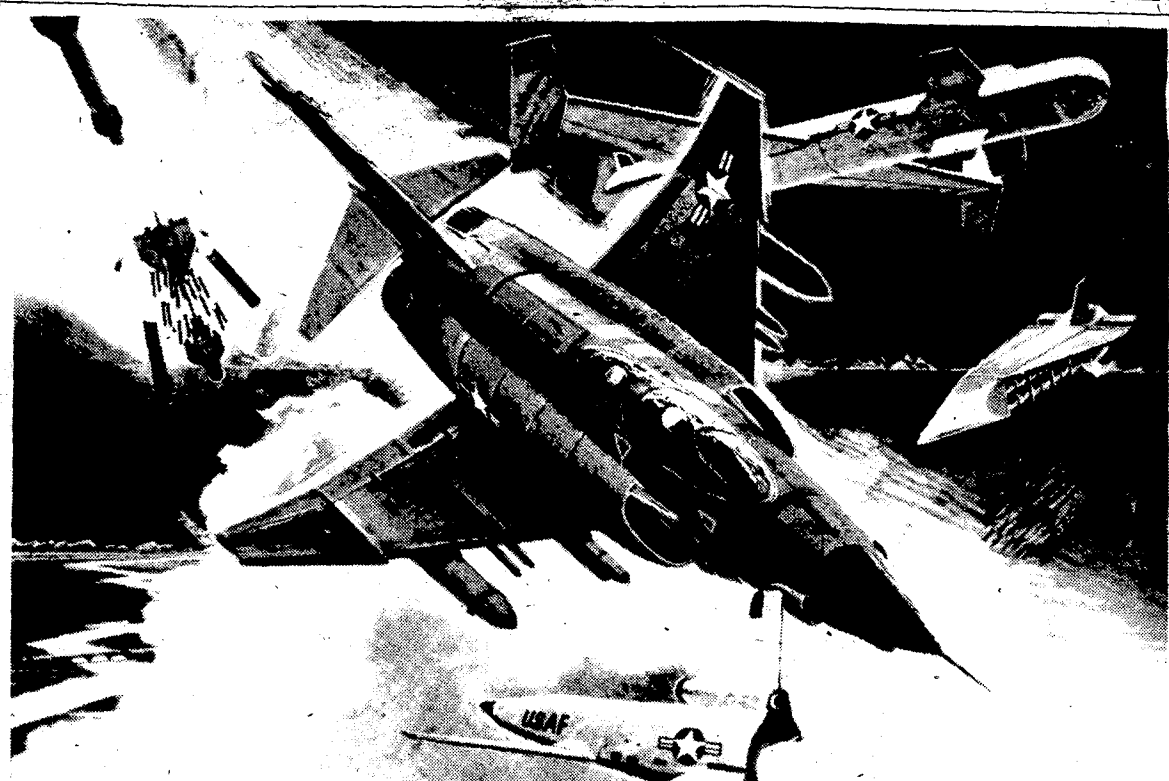
In a startling departure from its Cold War roots, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) has filed a formal complaint with the UN-affiliated International Labor Organization (ILO) over the U.S. government's handling of the PATCO strike, Calvin Zon reports. It is believed to be the first time the 32-year-old confederation—which normally spends its days attacking Soviet-bloc governments for their violations of trade union rights—has ever lodged such a complaint against the U.S. The grievance was filed in September with the ILO's Freedom of Association Committee, which is expected to take it up this November in Geneva at its next scheduled meeting. The Reagan administration, in the meantime, is reported to be drafting a response.

The ICFTU complaint calls on the Freedom of Association Committee to examine the U.S. government's "serious violations of basic trade union rights" and "forcefully call the attention of that government to its obligations and duties as a member state of the ILO." (The U.S. rejoined the ILO last year, after a three-year hiatus.) Among the 16 violations cited in the complaint is the charge that government agencies not party to the PATCO dispute have taken actions against members of the union. For instance, it notes, the Department of Housing and Urban Development has instructed its staff that terminated PATCO members aren't eligible for the department's mortgage protection program.

## Update

James Cronin reports from Milwaukee that a coroner's jury—having looked into the death of Ernest Lacy, who died in police custody on July 9 (*In These Times*, Sept. 9)—recommended that the three policemen who arrested the 27-year-old Lacy be charged with "homicide by reckless conduct" and that two others who failed to provide medical assistance to the dying man be indicted for "misconduct in public office." The verdict came after a month of televised hearings and three months of marches and demonstrations led by a group called the Coalition for Justice for Ernest Lacy. In the last 14 years, six inquests into the deaths of blacks at the hands of Milwaukee police failed to produce a single charge; coalition members hope that the Lacy decision signals a shift in city attitudes toward police brutality.

—Josh Kornbluth



Lockheed distributed this color booklet, which featured many similar scenes of combat.

## Come to where the elite fleets meet every year



F-16s under construction

Straight ahead of you is a film of bombs dropping from fighter planes; on your right is a model of a sleek new missile; on your left, a businessman in his fifties promotes his company's newest rocket to a group of about 20 military officers.

You are at the 35th annual Air Force Association convention, held at the Sheraton Hotel in Washington in mid-September, where virtually every major armaments manufacturer in the country sets up a display of its latest and most awesome weaponry.

In this military pinball arcade, this Pentagon version of the Cannes film festival, you can watch a Rockwell International flick about its new Navstar satellite system, which boasts an increased capacity for destruction: "kill + 60 percent." Or you might view Lockheed's special "kinetic penetrators," which are used "primarily for ripping up airfields." Raytheon's booth features a film on its AMRAM missile, where buildings blow up, missiles drop from the sky, and dog-fights are simulated: "Raytheon...advancing the state of the art in air defense."

And if you're interested in seeing what the industry leader is up to, you might want to take in the General Dynamics simulated battle featuring its prized "F-16

Fighting Falcon." "In all, the F-16s killed 88 aggressor aircraft; by comparison, the next best team had just one air-to-air kill," a deep voice narrates.

Representatives of the armaments industry who attended said that the convention was primarily a public relations affair. "We are not really sales oriented" here, explained Don Crane, an exhibitor from Northrop, adding, "It's entertaining; it's recreational."

Air Force personnel enjoyed the show. One junior ROTC cadet, still in braces, attended "just to see what's here and to learn what the Air Force is all about." His ROTC aerospace instructor, Charles C. Vasiladis, found the displays quite worthwhile. "It's very, very educational and it gives you an appreciation of technology," he said. "The nation that controls technology is the nation that's going to control the world."

The armaments display interested others besides members of the U.S. military. By all accounts, foreign military officers loved the convention. "Oh, it was great," said Lieutenant Colonel Elias Halabruda, air force attache for the embassy of Paraguay. "I had specific instructions from my joint chiefs of staff to look at several fighter bombers."

Officials from two countries currently prohibited from purchasing U.S. arms were invited by the Air Force Association to attend the convention. Chile's air force attache, Colonel Mario Silva, found it "very interesting." And a member of the South African defense force also attended the meeting, but neither he nor his embassy would make any comment.

Throughout the three-day convention, local Washington, D.C., residents protested outside the Sheraton Hotel, holding signs and passing out leaflets carrying the slogan "bread, not bombs." Sponsored by a coalition of 40 church and peace organizations, the protest brought out 1,000 people for a religious service and about 30 people for all-day pickets.

On Sept. 16, the night of the Air Force Association banquet, about 400 people massed for a civil disobedience protest at the entrance to the Sheraton Hotel. After a little while, the police came in and arrested 51 people, charging them with unlawful assembly. "It was very peaceful," one protester commented.

[A longer version of this article first appeared in *Multinational Monitor*.]

—Matthew Rothschild

## A leftist wire service folds

It hasn't been the best of years for the alternative press. First the *Berkeley Barb* went under. Then the *Real Paper* in Boston closed up shop. And now Liberation News Service (LNS) has announced that it, too, is folding. At its height LNS—the AP or UPI of the left—supplied packets of news from correspondents around the world twice a week to more than 1,100 subscribers.

Members of the LNS collective, citing severe economic woes, voted to end the Manhattan-based operation last month and are now spending most of their time selling off printing presses, desks and chairs, along with the posters of Lenin, Malcolm X and Che that decorate their loft.

"I think it's sad, very sad," said Andy Marx, 33, who first joined LNS in 1969 as a printer



Original articles, news clips, memos, press releases, reports, anecdotes—send them all to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. Please include your address and phone number.

and supervised editorial operations for the last few years. "But I certainly don't feel that any of the energy and effort that went into it was wasted."

LNS was founded in the summer of 1967 at a meeting of the Student Press Association and gained prominence from its coverage of the October 1967 march on the Pentagon. A near-fatal split between two factions in the collective operation took place at the end of the '60s. One faction, which called itself the "Virtuous Caucus," ran off with much of LNS' equipment to a Montague, Mass., farm. But the New England winter soon set in and the caucus' press froze in an unheated barn, leaving the New York crew to carry on for the next decade.

LNS' subscription list declined through the years to about 225 at the end, and the 13-member staff was able to put out its editorial and graphic packets just twice a month. Its last packet (#1016) featured stories on the recent Teamsters' Union convention and rise of leftist political parties in West Germany along with an article on sexual exploitation in prison written by a female inmate in Indiana.

"Lots of papers have died," said Andy Marx. "But many have just changed. I wouldn't be surprised if there were just as many alternative publications around now as there were in the '60s. But they have become more localized or specialized. People who thought that the revolution was around the corner realized that perhaps it was around several hundred corners, and they decided to concentrate on local issues. Our emphasis on national and international news just wasn't that valuable any longer for their purposes."

—Eric Nadler

## News roundup from left field

•One draft registration resister put it bluntly: "We stuck out our necks—now we need to stick together." In that spirit, more than 200 nonregistrants and their supporters met in Chicago and

New York the first weekend in October. Faced with upgraded efforts by the Selective Service System to locate and prosecute young men who failed to register last January for possible future conscription, participants in the two conferences gathered to plan strategy for the first trials of nonregistrants (expected to begin early next year). Matt Meyer, one of the New York conference organizers, said the hope is that this time around a draft resistance movement will be organized *before* rather than *after* the fact.

•The New American Movement (NAM)/Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) conference on reindustrialization, held Oct. 2 and 3 in Whiting, Ind., added a new word to the political vocabularies of more than 100 participants. Referring to Felix Rohatyn, corporate engineer of the union-financed bailout of New York City, DSOC chair Michael Harrington noted that the real future danger is not Reaganism but "Rohatynism." Harrington defined Rohatynism as a substitute for Reaganism—engineered by worried corporations working through the Democratic Party—after the president's military spending increases and social program cuts have failed. Rohatynism would instead cure the ailing economy through a corporate program of rebuilding industry. As in the New York City and Chrysler bailouts, corporate mismanagement would go unpunished while employees and consumers are asked to make sacrifices.

•The United Farm Workers union (UFW) has called for a national boycott of Ralston-Purina, the parent company of the Steak-Mate mushroom picking facility near Hollister, Calif. The UFW, which won a representation election there last year, has been on strike since July 20 over anti-union practices and arbitrary changes in working conditions. Paul Chavez, UFW's Hollister field director, charges that Steak-Mate brought on the strike by trying to implement a contract settlement rejected by the union. The UFW has filed charges of unfair labor practices with the state.

—Jim Steiker

DSOC chair Michael Harrington thinks the real danger in the Reagan era is "Rohatynism."



Jane Perkins is the only antinuclear candidate running for the Harrisburg City Council.

## Briefing: Chain reaction

### News and notes on nuclear energy, nuclear weapons and the antinuclear movement.

What would happen if someone dropped a nuclear bomb on the Cambridge, Mass., City Hall? The Cambridge City Council has published a 10-page booklet describing the grisly holocaust ("there would be little medical care and few facilities for the hundreds of thousands of people with burns, or suffering from radiation sickness, blast effects, shock or other injuries") in response to a state evacuation plan that blithely instructs citizens, in the event of a nuclear attack, to head west to Greenfield. Rather than worry about what to do once half of Massachusetts has arrived in Greenfield (if that's possible), the City Council recommends nuclear arms control. At the end of the booklet, there is a list of names and addresses of 15 peace groups and a final plea: "You may not agree with the City Council, but try and reach your own conclusion. Do not assume that someone else can be smarter than you about this.... Tell President Reagan, Congressman O'Neill and Senators Kennedy and Tsongas what you think they should do."

The nuclear power debate has become a small media war in Harrisburg, Penn. Metropolitan Edison (a.k.a. "GPU Nuclear"), owner of the two Three Mile Island reactors, is anxiously awaiting permission to turn on Unit I (*In These Times*, Oct. 2) while the seven-year clean-up of Unit II continues—with \$123 million already pledged by the usually austere Reagan administration to help pay the \$1 billion cost of mopping up. To convince

customers that it can indeed operate a nuclear power plant safely, Met Ed began running TV and radio ads in September. Since Labor Day, Met Ed's weekly bill for air time has been \$12,500—and a New York public relations firm has been paid \$35,000 in production expenses.

"We're told by our critics that nothing has changed," claims a Met Ed spokesman. "Well that's not fair and not true. We've learned something in two-and-a-half years, and that's the message the commercials are designed to bring." The ads feature reassuring male voices that explain—to a solemn brass band accompaniment—that there are no health or safety problems at TMI.

By comparison, the Campaign to Stop the Restart of Three Mile Island, a project of the TMI Public Interest Resource Center, spent a total of \$9,000 on its TV and radio ads for a 10-day run. The commercials—narrated by a woman asking for volunteers to do area canvassing, help with office work and write letters urging the governor to keep TMI closed—included no explanations or arguments. Even so, at last count (in early October), the calls to the campaign averaged 20 an hour. "We didn't have to sell people anything," says Linda Lotz of the campaign staff. "There are a lot of people out there who are against restart and were insulted by the Met Ed commercials."

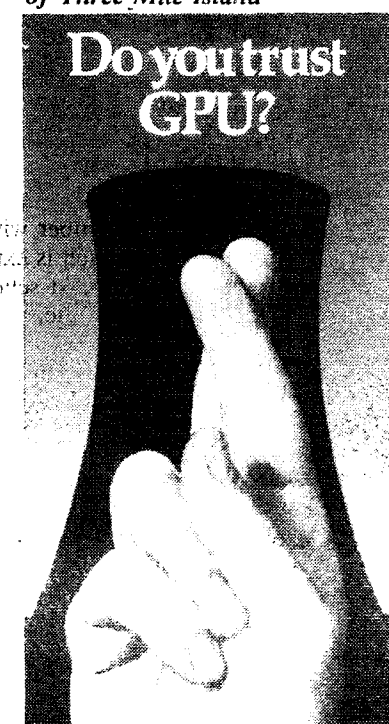
The battle of the airwaves may reach the polls in November when Harrisburg voters elect new City Council members. Democrat Jane Perkins is the only candidate running on an antinuclear plank and the only candidate with the en-

dorsement of the Harrisburg AFL-CIO Central Labor Council. She has a good chance of winning, according to political observers. Perkins lives 10 miles from TMI and left home during the 1979 accident. As secretary-treasurer of the Pennsylvania Services Union, she helped organize the labor rally against TMI last March. "TMI is a safety and health issue for the people of Harrisburg," says Perkins. "We still don't have a workable evacuation plan."

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission has just discovered rust: 16 nuclear plants using salt water as a coolant now suffer from that rare chemical process called oxidation. It can crack corrosive carbon steel piping or steam generators and cause leaking, clogging and other plumbing problems—as well as radioactive contamination. Replacement of damaged parts is a massive expense and puts a plant out of service for long periods of time. It took one year and \$112 million for Virginia Electric and Power Co. to replace the leaky steam generator at its Surry plant.

"It is a first rate screw-up," said Peter Bradford, one of the more liberal members of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, commenting on the discovery that Pacific Gas and Electric used the wrong blueprint for seismic supports at the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant. After nearly 2,000 protesters were arrested for blockading the plant, the NRC has now delayed start-up to determine whether the reactor—built only two-and-a-half miles from an active earthquake fault—can actually withstand an earthquake. "Here you have the

Cover of a brochure for the Campaign to Stop the Restart of Three Mile Island



most controversial area of discussion," Bradford continued, "in what is probably the most controversial power plant in the country. To commit an error of that sort is almost analogous to a student copying down the wrong homework assignment: No matter how brilliant the work from then on, he's just not going to get the right answers."

—Susan Jaffe

Susan Jaffe also reports on nuclear issues for the *Village Voice*.



## ABORTION



Though polls register broad support for reproductive rights, only a tiny percentage of the pro-choice majority is politically active.

## NARAL's shift to the local arena provokes a palace coup

By Rochelle Lefkowitz

NEW YORK

**P**URBITY, FOR MOST TEENS and their families, is the pits—adolescent growing pains put both family and friends through the wringer. And when the troubled teen is one of the nation's largest pro-choice organizations—the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL)—we're all in the family; the outcome of this particular identity crisis may affect every woman's rights.

Last month—just half a year after NARAL's rousing 12th annual convention—Karen Mulhauser, executive director for the past nine years, quietly resigned. The next day, Kay Harrold, the organization's administrative director, and Jean Weinberg, head of NARAL's Political Action Committee (PAC), cleared out their desks, too.

The official explanation was a simple one: according to NARAL board chair the Reverend Beatrice Blair, an Episcopal clergywoman who preceded Mulhauser in the director's post, the resignations were the free choice of a burned-out warrior and her loyal troops. But, why, then, did Mulhauser resign only after a closed executive session at which NARAL's board, split nearly down the middle, requested that she do so?

The NARAL board can only hire and fire the executive director. The way Mulhauser's supporters describe it, it was her principled unwillingness to drop NARAL's targeted grassroots electoral campaign and the managers of that campaign that led the board to ask her to leave.

Had NARAL's growing grassroots machine been a loser? Hardly. For the first time, a pro-choice group had finally acknowledged what the New Right had been claiming for years—that even though opinion polls have revealed that more than 80 percent of Americans are pro-choice, even in states where their presence is strong less than 1 percent of the pro-choice majority is politically active.

To awaken this sleeping giant NARAL's PAC began two years ago to build a pro-choice machine that could offer politicians three things—campaign workers, a war chest and a lobbying presence.

In the short time since this electoral model was piloted by MORAL (NAR-

AL's Massachusetts affiliate), NARAL-PAC had mobilized the resources to help Oregon Sen. Robert Packwood and Massachusetts Reps. Barney Frank and Jim Shannon survive the 1980 New Right landslide.

### Unhappy providers.

It's difficult to rate the influence of any one organization in an electoral campaign. But while several hardnosed grassroots campaign workers refused even to try, all had high praise for NARAL's growing presence at the state level. Said one veteran Massachusetts legislative aide, "I've got to hand it to them. They've really kept up a constant stream of those postcards that say 'I'm pro-

choice and I vote.' There are stacks of them on everyone's desk here."

How could this be unpopular? At NARAL, as usual, success was in the eyes of the beholder. For one thing, not every state affiliate reaped the benefits as the national office trained grassroots organizers. Instead, Weinberg targeted only certain key states, because, she explained, "if a constitutional amendment on abortion rights is sent to the states to ratify, we'll need the votes to defeat it."

For board members whose state affiliates were not on the list, the targeting was just another reason to oppose the grassroots strategy.

NARAL's 125,000 members are a diverse group who share a single common

### Clinic owners, who fear a sudden congressional action, say grassroots campaigns are "too little, too late."



goal: to keep abortion legal. But many of the 13 board members who voted to replace Karen Mulhauser have another thing in common as well—they own abortion clinics. For months clinic owners in NARAL expressed the fear that the organization's growing grassroots effort would be "too little, too late" to save their clinics should a swift congressional maneuver try to shut them down. And legal counsel encouraged their growing preference for cutting quiet deals instead of relying on the grassroots approach. In the course of this dispute NARAL's membership grew, and, like a teenager who's shot up six inches in one summer, NARAL suddenly became an organization with a new stature it didn't quite know how to handle.

A 50 percent increase in membership dues meant that, at least financially, there were now other affordable strategies besides building a grassroots machine—such as hiring high-priced lobbyists and media consultants. All of a sudden, instead of feisty lower-price activists, big-league media advisors like John Deardourff (long-time counselor to moderate Republicans) were in reach. The board soon voted to give Deardourff a contract.

Weinberg and her supporters characterized the clinic owners—whose power was growing at NARAL—as "pro-choice, but otherwise apolitical." But rather than act on their dissatisfactions with NARAL's grassroots focus by starting a new organization—that would be open to charges of self-interest—the providers out-organized the organizers who had swept their own slate into office in the spring 1980 board elections.

To replace Mulhauser, NARAL has hired a top Washington headhunter—another step that is more in line with staffing a big clinic than a non-profit outfit. Until a new director is named, Judith Widdicombe, who managed the St. Louis Reproductive Health Services, is NARAL's acting director. While Widdicombe herself could not be reached for comment over a period of weeks, NARAL's board chair Bea Blair maintained that NARAL had only changed personnel, not policy.

### Back to the states.

But it's not over yet. Nineteen of NARAL's 30 board members face a contested election next month. At least two slates, one aligned with the former staff, are being run. With ballots due in mid-November, this new board will set policy for NARAL come December.

Meanwhile, though, the New Right seems to have decided to redirect its anti-abortion efforts along states' rights lines. And, says Karen Mulhauser, "I see this new approach as ultimately more dangerous." She adds, "Congress wants to get rid of the abortion issue and enough members of Congress might see this [new federalist amendment Sen. Orrin Hatch is drafting] as an easy way of getting the monkey off their backs and sending it back to the states to deal with."

A growing NARAL-PAC pro-choice movement would be in just the position to take the lead in such a battle. But, at least for the duration of NARAL's identity crisis, its affiliates may lose critical momentum as they wait for direction from Washington.

But even among the New Right, the states' rights strategy has less than 100 percent backing. Paul Brown, executive director of the Life Amendment Political Action Committee (LAPAC) has publicly opposed it as a "sellout of our principles." Yet despite some disunity on the right, clearly it would take a strong focused effort to win over enough state legislatures to block such a tactic. A roll call vote that a state senator or representative could justify on the grounds of "states' rights" is an easier one than an outright vote on abortion rights.

Come December, as NARAL's new board plans its strategy, it will be weighing the pros and cons of how to best use its pro-choice membership. In deciding whether to rely on lobbyists and TV ads or a strong grassroots organization, it might well consider the success of its opponents: "It really doesn't matter," said Brown recently, "what the polls say. Whoever can deliver politically is the group that's going to get its way."



## REAGANOMICS

## The states get rights, but not much else

By Thomas Brom

OAKLAND, CA

**A**LAMEDA COUNTY SUPERVISOR John George may be excused for being less than enthusiastic about President Reagan's "new federalism." County government is responsible for many of the health and welfare services to Oakland's sizeable population of poor and unemployed. But the state's Proposition 13 has drastically reduced the ability of California cities and coun-

tradiory package to Congress in split form, separating the ideology of states' rights from the reality of a massive cut in the "social wage" won by American workers over the past century.

"There is no question that the Reagan administration has signaled the end of the welfare society," says Oakland City Council member Wilson Riles, Jr. "We are left with the job of killing community programs."

**Block that grant.**

The mechanism for accomplishing this drastic reduction in services is the seem-

grant recipients quickly saw the potential for internal warfare for funds between community groups and tried to prevent it through special legislation. Rudy Vidarri of the California Coalition of Hispanic Organizations helped draft a bill creating a block grant advisory task force to make recommendations on funding to the legislature. Sponsored by Assemblyman John Vasconcellos of San Jose, the bill became law in September and goes into effect on January 1, 1982. Liberal Democrats will control the appointment of nine of the 12 advisory task force members, at least until the 1982 elections.

been very specific about shifting the responsibility for services, it has been very general about shifting the taxing authority to support them.

"We are concerned that these programs are being dumped on the states without providing any additional revenue sources," says Mike Rattigan of the California League of Cities. "If Reagan pulls the plug once the responsibility has been shifted, we take the heat."

"California accepted only two of the block grants basically for political reasons," adds Terri Thomas of the governor's legislative office. "We think if Reagan cuts social services by 25 percent, he should accept the political responsibility for that."

The League of Cities is particularly suspicious of the block grant program because federal revenue sharing—the hallmark of Richard Nixon's "new federalism" 10 years ago—is one of the programs included in the additional 12 percent cuts announced in September.

"Reagan is proposing an additional \$500 million cut each year, which translates as \$62 million less for California," Rattigan says. "He's trying to do this through the appropriation process, since he's already signed the reconciliation bill. It cannot be justified, and if he persists in this, the League of Cities will fight him in every state in the union."

**Reinventing the wheel.**

Rattigan adds one more reason many cities in California oppose the block grant structure—they actually prefer dealing with the federal government. "A lot of small cities in particular have invested years working with HUD," he says. "Now they have to start all over, and they are concerned the states will have different priorities, rules and power relations."

Walter Zelman, executive director of California Common Cause, believes these fears are justified. "The mix of powerful lobbyists is very often different at the state and national levels," he says. "In California, realtors and developers have the strongest lobbies. Farm interests, doctors, nursing homes and the liquor lobby are all very powerful and could cause changes in the existing social programs. One thing is certain—block

*Continued on page 10*

The administration had hoped to shift the expensive Medicaid program to the states, but Congress temporarily held it at bay.

ties to raise money just when federal support for social services is being cut 25 percent.

Now Reagan proposes taking another 12 percent from his original budget proposals (not from the milder Reconciliation Act approved by Congress in July) and then handing over authority for administering the rest to local government. "It's definitely the double whammy,"

## Block grants put states in a double bind—brand new responsibilities, but no new means to support them.

says George, the county's only black supervisor. "Reagan would have charity take care of the poor and the marketplace take care of everything else. That's not local control. We're just trying to prevent the middle class from fighting the poor for the crumbs left on the table."

New federalism is one of the linchpins in the Reagan economic program, a brilliant political device that combines visions of Jeffersonian democracy with drastic cuts in federal funding and regulation. It simultaneously weakens the power of the still Democratically-controlled House of Representatives and consolidates local conservatives by providing an ideology for reaction. It also neatly masks the shift in spending to the military by spinning off truncated social programs to the states. And it attacks the federal labor force—which has grown by 27 percent since 1950—while it multiplies the state and local bureaucracy, which has grown by 22 percent since 1950.

Reagan has managed to sell this con-

tingly innocuous block grant—a transfer of broadly-directed federal money to state government. The Reagan budget proposals of February asked for \$16.5 billion in block grants, most with few strings attached. Congress approved \$7.5 billion worth in July, collapsing 57 categorical programs into nine grants covering education, health services, alcohol and drug abuse programs, day care and low-income home energy aid.

Congress accepted funding cuts in these programs of 25 percent, but still considered the reconciliation bill a victory. The administration had intended to shift the two most expensive programs—Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and Medicaid—to the states as well, but was temporarily held at bay. After the vote, George Busbee (D-Ga.) told the National Governor's Association that the new federalism amounts to "picking out the most expensive, difficult-to-manage and politically controversial federal programs and handing them over to the states and localities with a heartfelt sigh of relief."

The governors went on record opposing state authority over AFDC and Medicaid, even as White House domestic policy advisor Robert Carleson confirmed that the "general decision" to convert welfare to a state block grant had already been made.

All of this makes state and local officials extremely reluctant to embrace block grants, especially in the large industrial states with big social service programs. California and New York have been particularly wary, accepting only two and three of the nine grants respectively. "Some of the small states accepted the block grants because it sounded good—you know, 'let's decentralize,'" says Jim Connor of the California Health and Welfare Agency. "But the federal funding levels still aren't set, and neither are the regulations. New York is already sorry it accepted authority for the alcohol and drug abuse grant."

Advocates for California's federal

"Community-based organizations will have majority representation on this board," Vidarri says. "Right now all we want is pro rata cuts, so people in the community don't cannibalize each other. But this isn't progress—this is a tax shift. Reagan is saying, 'If you want services, you pay for them.'"

But more than one local official has noticed that while the administration has

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# IN THE WORLD



A French Communist Party poster from the postwar period—when a coalition of leftists and Gaullists pushed through the first big wave of nationalizations—exhorts miners to win “The Battle of Production.”

## EUROPE

# On government business in France

By Diana Johnstone

**T**HE FRENCH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY is in the process of enacting a nationalization bill that will give France the largest public sector of any of Western Europe's mixed economies. The bill empowers the government to buy out total ownership of five major industrial corporations and 36 banks, completing state control of French banking, except for very small and foreign-owned banks. The list corresponds to Socialist president Francois Mitterrand's campaign promise, which in turn essentially repeated the list in the left's “Common Program” of 1972.

For the past decade nationalizations have been the central feature of the left's

program in France, often presented as the acid test of its faithfulness to principles and its sincere attempt to move toward socialism. When the left split in September 1977, the ostensible issue was how much to nationalize, with the Communists insisting on a full government takeover of a long list of subsidiaries, and accusing the Socialists of “veering to the right” when they balked. The assumption has been that distance “to the left” is measured by the extent of nationalizations championed.

It was not ever thus, and indeed the history of nationalizations shows considerable shifts in who is for them and why. To the question, What for? a whole range of answers have been given: to provide a public service, to let the state manage unprofitable sectors to the benefit of profitable private ones, to assure productive investment, to save jobs, to plan the economy, to assure national rather than foreign control, to improve workers' conditions, to democratize industry, to start the transition to socialism.

Obviously such conflicting answers come from, or are aimed at, different social strata. And fashions change. In the early '70s, when the May 1968 urge to *autogestion* (self-management) was still in the air and the left did not yet take the economic crisis seriously, the emphasis among heralds of the Common Program was on the transition to socialism and the development of industrial democracy in the factory. Those themes have faded, and today the stress is on forging a “use-

ful tool” to fight the economic crisis and assure productive investment, economic growth and jobs.

The preamble to the government draft of the bill sent to the national assembly states the currently dominant motivations and justifications. “For several years now, natural economic forces have been working in a direction that extends unemployment—that is, a calamity that, by the economic and social damage it causes, is capable of threatening, as history has already tragically demonstrated, the very existence of democracy and its institutions.” Therefore, the “public necessity” exists to put into practice a “voluntarist policy” including extension of nationalizations.

The preamble notes that the existing public sector has continued to assure a much higher level of productive investment than the private sector. “So it is that from 1974 to 1980, public-enterprise investment increased by 91 percent, while private investment dropped by 5 percent.” Thus nationalizations appear to be an appropriate response to the “investment strike” by private capital.

Stressing more purely political factors, the Socialist state secretary for extending the public sector, Jean Le Garrec, told television viewers that he personally saw three main purposes: (1) to wrest huge power from “about 30 men” who control the big corporations, (2) to make the banks help small business and (3) to enable workers to find personal fulfillment in their jobs, a necessary condition,

Over the past decade the question of how much to nationalize has been used as the acid test for left parties' political intentions.



he said, for economic advancement.

Mitterrand recently played up another motive when he noted that those business leaders who most criticized nationalization were themselves ready to "multinationalize," that is, expatriate their companies. Nationalization keeps them within the French patrimony. This was a reference to the big chemical-pharmaceutical firm Roussel-Uclaf, which fell under control of the German group Hoechst following death in the Roussel family in 1972. Roussel-Uclaf was on the Common Program nationalization shopping list, but Hoechst seems determined to hang on.

### Hands off the allies.

To avoid conflict with Germany or the U.S., the government has postponed nationalization of three firms mentioned in the Common Program—Roussel-Uclaf, ITT-France and CII-Honeywell-Bull (computers)—pending negotiations "concerned with maintaining commercial and industrial technological links" with the foreign firms holding controlling stock.

Meanwhile the government has devised a method of evaluating shares—and thus the amount of compensation to be paid—generous enough to silence most criticism. The "multifactor" evaluation will pay shareholders up to twice recent stock market prices in government bonds with good interest rates. The price tag for appeasing stockholders is estimated at around \$200 a year for each French citizen for the next 15 years.

For this, the nation obtains full ownership of five sprawling and occasionally overlapping conglomerates, with many multinational branches and international connections. They are:

- Saint Gobain, founded in 1665 under royal protection to create a French glass industry with Venetian glass-blowers spirited away from Murano island. It has grown into a \$19 billion business employing 163,500 people making more mirrors than anyone else in the world, enormous quantities of window glass and all sorts of essential pipes, fixtures and materials that people outside the building trades scarcely know exist. Saint Gobain has recently bought heavily into CII-Honeywell-Bull and is likely to weigh heavily in its planning (along with the Italian firm Olivetti) whatever the outcome of the negotiations with Honeywell. Those expecting nationalizations to produce a social revolution may be disappointed to hear that Saint Gobain's current president, Roger Fauroux, is expected to keep his job under the new ownership. (He is credited with "social democratic leanings.") The firm's top executives include one of the original founders of the Center for Socialist Study, Research and Teaching (CERES), considered the left wing of the Socialist Party, Alain Gomez, and top technocrat Alain Minc, who helped Mitterrand's government draw up the nationalization bill.

- Compagnie Generale d'Electricite, slightly bigger than Saint Gobain, which makes all sorts of electrical equipment, from cables and the engines for the new TGV high-speed train to batteries and telecommunications equipment. Its president, Ambroise Roux, having made himself a leading spokesman of capitalist free enterprise, will get the axe.

- Pechiney-Ugine-Kuhlman (PUK), the \$7 billion multinational that stretches out into Africa and other third-world countries to mine ores for its aluminum, nuclear and other high-technology industries.

- Thomson-Brandt, a \$17 billion combine specializing in household appliances and consumer electronics, but with its hand in arms and aerospace.

- Rhone-Poulenc, a \$6 billion chemical-pharmaceutical corporation with a declining textile branch that will pose political problems to the new owners.

### Capitalists appeal to the courts.

The government has stressed that it chose these groups for nationalization because of their "strategic character for the national economy." The intent is to develop broad sectors characterized by "technological challenge" around these "industrial poles."

In its rear-guard action through the courts, the right will probably try to ar-

gue that this goes against France's Declaration of Rights of Man (which defines property as "an inviolable and sacred right" that no one can be deprived of "except when public necessity, legally determined, obviously requires it") and beyond the constitutional provision (as of 1946) that an enterprise should be nationalized if it has "the characteristics of a national public service or a de facto monopoly." But the prevailing interpretation of property rights throughout the French legal profession is favorable to the Socialist measure.

The high-level but purely consultative council of state did its best to throw a monkey wrench in the works, however, by formally indicating last month that it considered exemption of foreign banks from nationalization contrary to "equal protection under the law." The government chose to ignore this opinion, since nationalizing foreign banks is absolutely out of the question (if only because of the reprisals against French banks abroad that would be sure to follow), but disgruntled capitalists will try to use it in interminable lawsuits.

The main hot-bed of resistance is in the Compagnie Financiere de Paris et des Pays-Bas (Paribas), an investment bank with far-flung interests in such bulwarks of the capitalist system as Hong Kong's largest Chinese-controlled bank, Sun Hung Kai, the London merchant bank S.G. Warburg, the large U.S. investment bank A.G. Becker and various conservative Arab financial groups. None of those folks are keen to do business with reds. Paribas stockholders defense associations are springing up around the world. The one in Belgium is headed by former Belgian economy minister Jean Rey, who was once chairman of the European Economic Communities Commission. The main argument of the recalcitrants is that full state control of Paribas' Middle Eastern subsidiaries is bound to weaken the French presence in that part of the world. They want to exempt certain international operations.

Since the lion's share of French banking has been nationalized since the end of World War II, the government had to explain that the post-war legislators, by leaving "an important private banking sector with enough weight to influence the conduct of the banking profession, made it possible for the nationalized establishments, in the absence of specific, explicit guidance from their stockholder [the government] to strive constantly to act just like their private competitors. This hybrid system has not contributed as it should have to putting a break on the parallel rise of unemployment and inflation; it has kept too many firms locked in a veritable vice; it has not given a proper deal to small and medium business and the least favored regions of the country; it has excessively put guarantees to the lender ahead of the borrowers' projects." In short, deprived of the excuse that they must compete with hard-hearted private bankers, the nationalized bankers will become more public-spirited.

### Nationalization is not a dirty word.

Nationalizations are politically popular in France because the existing public sector has a good image. A survey taken last August by the business magazine *L'Expansion* showed that 32 percent of French people believe that nationalized enterprises are better managed than private industry, and only 17 percent think the opposite. The same poll showed that 43 percent believe the government should guide the economy, 32 percent believe it should intervene to prevent abuses, 18 percent that it should only make recommendations, whereas only 3 percent think the government should not intervene in the economy.

This is related to the fact that past nationalizations—of the railroads, the Renault auto manufacturer and so on—have been visibly and even spectacularly successful. The nationalized enterprises have been run in different ways, but well. The trains are comfortable and on time; the cars sell. And in general the employees' enjoy somewhat better working conditions and more job security. In France there has never been any movement to denationalize, as in Britain, where the management of the nationalized industries apparently made grave errors in their investment strategy, sticking with obsolescent technology.

tegy, sticking with obsolescent technology.

Another factor that makes nationalization relatively easy and smooth in France is the existence of a large corps of competent and honest executive personnel whose public-service ethic enables them to move with ease between public and private sectors. In other words, no social revolution is involved.

And indeed, the rise of nationalizations as the keystone to left programs marks the decline within the working-class movement of its original revolutionary currents (both Marxist and anarcho-syndicalist) that sought an end to the division of labor between bosses and workers. The history of the question shows that the working-class movement has been invaded by programs and attitudes whose origins lie, rather, in the French radical republican tradition of public service, and identification of the state—once it is regulated by the people's representatives



elected by universal suffrage—with the people as a whole and with the public interest.

### The left comes around.

The first nationalizations in France occurred in 1878 and in 1906 when the state took over some railroad lines in the west of the country that were losing money and would otherwise have been shut down. The purpose was to maintain a public service. Up until World War I, the French labor and socialist movements considered such arrangements strictly a bourgeois affair of no interest to the working class. The war was the great defeat of the early revolutionary working-class movement, thinning its ranks, destroying its internationalism and splitting it into hostile Communist and Socialist parties. After the war, the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) for the first time endorsed the idea of "industrial nationalizations" as a way to rationalize production for the common good, against the selfishness of private owners.

In the '20s and '30s, while the Socialists, who then controlled the CGT, were attracted to nationalization projects, the French Communist Party (PCF) was hostile. Nationalizations represent an alliance between workers and the middle classes that the PCF rejected.

After the 1929 crash, the CGT adopted a policy of economic planning to avoid overproduction crises. At its 1935 congress it called for a national economic plan accompanied by nationalization of credit and key industries. The idea was to "rally anti-capitalist classes around the plan." The Communists would have nothing to do with such reformism.

The Popular Front of 1936-37 did not adopt the CGT nationalization program. Socialist Leon Blum saw his mandate as "honest management of the capitalist system" rather than any transition to socialism. But the government took partial control of the Banque de France, some arms manufacture and the aviation industry, and set up the national railroad company SNCF with the state holding 51 percent.

The big wave of nationalizations came less than 10 years later, at the Liberation. A lot had happened in between. As General de Gaulle put it in 1942, "Disaster and treason have disqualified most leaders and members of the privileged classes." Two years later he called for "a renewal of elites and the installation of a planned economy in order to prevent the liberation from turning into civil war." A Gaullist study group concluded that

"The nation unanimously demands the liberation of the state from economic powers, notably big capitalism, and an increase of working people's responsibilities to integrate them finally into the country's life." De Gaulle and other upper-class Resistance leaders were well aware that most of those who actually risked their lives against the Nazi occupation came from the working classes, and, specifically, the Communist Party. The PCF emerged from the war wearing a new aura of patriotic heroism, a political force to reckon with. Most important, it took over leadership of the CGT from the Socialists.

The post-war coalition government adopted the National Council of the Resistance program, which called for "return to the nation of all the major means of production, now monopolized, which are the fruits of our common labor." In 1945, all the major banks, as well as Air

The public sector in France has a good image; nationalized firms have had visible, and even spectacular, success.

France and Renault, were nationalized—the auto firm in order to take it away from a management that had collaborated with the Nazi occupation. Collaborationist newspapers were also confiscated by the state and turned over to teams of journalists who had cooperated with the Resistance. This move to free the press from "the powers of money" was at the origin of the newspaper *Le Monde*, which to this day has maintained the independence and public service ethic of its founders.

In 1946, the government created the electric and gas power companies EDF and GDF, nationalized two big insurance companies and took over the coal mines.

The post-war nationalizations thus served to keep the social peace, punish collaborators and, above all, provide a locomotive for economic recovery. Agreement on these objectives was the basis for an "historic compromise" between De Gaulle and the PCF that survived even after the Cold War broke out in 1946, casting the Communists out of the government. That compromise is the real basis of post-war French society.

In 1945 and 1946, the PCF, which before the war had looked askance at nationalizations, enthusiastically supported them as the basis for national unity. It threw its forces into a "battle for production" much like those in Eastern Europe. When Soviet-U.S. rivalry imposed the Cold War on France, the PCF led its troops out of the battle for production into major strikes. Some naive souls then fancied class war had arrived. In fact, the result was simply an arrangement between management and the PCF that salvaged the crucial strongholds the party was able to build for itself within the nationalized enterprises, thanks to water-down "workers' control" measures. A main bulwark of the party's institutional strength is in the *comites d'entreprise*, with elected posts providing paid jobs for full-time party militants.

The PCF's enthusiasm for nationalizations has thus been closely linked to its own direct participation in the governments that enact them and in the enterprises affected. Some of the party's peculiar shifts in recent years may be due in part to uneasiness over the prospect of sharing this big cheese with such an unknown quantity as the Socialist Party. The PCF's franchise on "the workers" has grown very threadbare compared to 1945. The current nationalizations probably open a new phase in the politicization of economic life.



# States

Continued from page 7

grants will create much more lobbying in Sacramento, and probably result in a larger state bureaucracy."

One of California's strongest community organizations, the East Los Angeles Community Union (TELACU), shares many of Zelman's worries. "I can appreciate decentralization as a con-

the ranks of community groups," he says. "Many organizations simply can't hold onto key people during the transition period."

Obviously the shake-up in social service funding has made community groups look out for Number One. But an aide to Assemblyman Tom Bates of Oakland believes the results of block grant funding aren't necessarily bad. "I say hooray if the financial squeeze on MediCal mills and nursing homes in the state creates community-based clinics like On Lok in San Francisco's Chinatown," he says. "The possibilities for a new

**“Hire a lobbyist in Sacramento, hire a grants manager for the city, and pray for a miracle.”**

through local intransigence. Reagan's nostalgic invocation of self-sufficient, rural communities is hopelessly out of step with the reality of integrated national and global economics.

Decentralization in the Reagan model will also dilute the effect of national public interest and local organizations, "worsening the existing differential in the social wage from state to state. "The whole process may encourage a 'beggary-neighbor' approach to attracting private industry," Zelman says. "The states could bid each other down, promising business lower taxes that support fewer social services. The South did it for years with right-to-work laws and loose environmental controls."

Finally, pinching off federal funding without providing local taxing authority promotes a "private enterprise" view of government where all services must pay for themselves. For example, after three years of Proposition 13 tax limitations, California cities have shown a trend toward contracting out for public services and to fee-for-service arrangements that only wealthy communities can afford. By contrast, Oakland recently closed four fire stations, three branch libraries and shut off 1,000 street lights in an attempt to balance the city budget.

A special report on the Reagan block grants commissioned this summer by Berkeley Mayor Gus Newport summed up the growing mood of civic desperation. The study concluded, "Hire a lobbyist in Sacramento; hire a grants manager for the city; and pray for a miracle."

President Reagan seems intent on permanently weakening the government buffer between U.S. wage earners and the business cycle. During the 40 years of the New Deal, government became an arena for political struggle because it had some tangible benefits to provide. But stripped of its ability to deliver those benefits, government becomes far less important as a focus for political action. Ironically, the president's success in shrinking government could shift the arena for popular struggle in the U.S. to the source—private capital here and abroad. ■



Diane Schmidt

*"There is no question," says one Oakland politician, "that the Reagan administration has signaled the end of the welfare society."*

cept," says TELACU chief operating officer George Pla. "But now we have to start all over; we can forget Washington. And I'm not sure the state is prepared to administer all these programs. TELACU will do all right, but a lot of smaller programs will die during the transition."

Lloyd Lee, an attorney for the National Housing and Economic Development Law Project in Berkeley, believes the lack of continuity during the funding shift is intentional. "It's a great way of thinning

system exist. It doesn't have to be a disaster."

Supervisor John George agrees there are positive aspects to the block grant program. "We need a year-round citizen's budget committee like the one set up last year in Berkeley," he says. "We need more flexibility and local control in running social services. But more than that, we need our own program presented to the community in a Yankee Doodle style. This worse-is-better philosophy can

get you killed."

Despite some guarded optimism about the merits of local control, the dangers of the Reagan block grant program are enormous. The administration is using an argument for states' rights from the Articles of Confederation to roll back social legislation affecting all 50 states 200 years later. Indeed, many of the civil rights and war on poverty programs were administered from Washington precisely because federal authority was needed to cut

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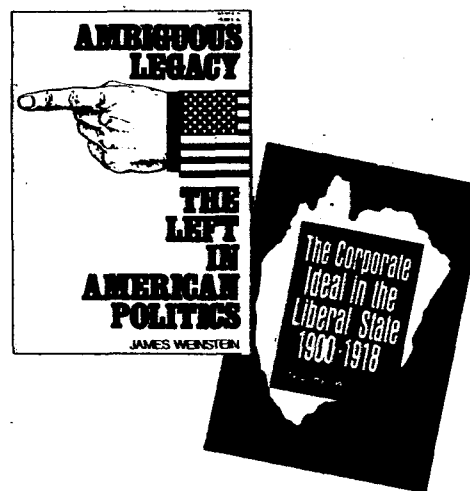
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## PAKISTAN

## Again the U.S. backs a loser

By Jack Mitchell &amp; Indy Badhwar

WASHINGTON

**T**HE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION'S carefully orchestrated drum roll for an enormous military aid package to Pakistan is a case study in ignorance of the political, strategic, social and religious realities under the regime of Gen. Mohammad Zia ul-Haq.

The word has been passed down from the highest levels that no dissension will be tolerated from the White House's pro-Zia policy. State Department officials refuse even to return phone calls on the touchy subject. But South Asian experts inside and outside the government recognize the folly of blindly committing \$3 billion and sophisticated F-16 fighter planes to an increasingly unpopular dictatorship that could fall under its own oppressive weight at any time.

Reagan policy-makers propose to increase nearly tenfold Jimmy Carter's \$400 million aid package, which Zia scornfully called "peanuts." National security adviser Richard Allen, Secretary of State Alexander Haig and other Reagan hardliners claim that the Soviets pose an unacceptable threat to Pakistan's borders, particularly because Zia has steadfastly refused to recognize the Soviet puppet government in Kabul, despite renewed diplomatic pressure during a recent visit from the Soviet deputy foreign minister, Nikolai Firiyubin.

On the surface, confronting the Soviet

**The State Dept. knows more than it will admit about Zia's narcotics trade and nuclear double-dealing.**

bear—which has trampled Afghanistan and is always trying to cozy up to the Gandhi government in New Delhi—may seem a prudent enough course. But, as in Iran, U.S. foreign policy planners aren't looking beyond the surface nor delving into the strategic, long-term interests of the U.S. The record clearly demonstrates that bolstering Zia may be more foolhardy than forward-looking.

First, the U.S. has paid no attention, officially at least, to what the Pakistanis themselves are saying about the supposed Soviet threat to their security. Pakistan's foreign minister, Agha Shahi, in a seminar with editors at Lahore in June, had this to say about the Russian juggernaut to the north, while hinting at a possible Pakistan-Soviet agreement:

The "Soviet Union has assured that 'we pose no danger to you'...if I were speaking to you off the record, I could tell you something more. But I shall have to confine myself on this issue by saying that an attack by a superpower on another country in the region will not remain confined to the aggressor and the victim.... The Soviets have categorically assured us, and this has been stated by President Brezhnev a number of times, that we should not take into account this possibility [of an attack]...this fear in your mind about the danger of an attack by the Soviet Union should be allayed."

This apparent lack of concern was also related last year to an American congressional delegation headed by Rep. David Obey (D-Wis.), which found no visible alarm on Zia's part about the presence of Soviet forces on Pakistan's northern border.

In fact, the delegation reported that "14 of the 16 Pakistani military units are de-



Anti-Americanism is now rampant because Pakistanis resent U.S. aid to the brutal regime of Gen. Mohammad Zia ul-Haq.

ployed facing south along the Indian border, and, despite continuing inquiries from the congressional delegation, President Zia would not commit himself to redeploying his forces toward the northern border with Afghanistan."

#### See no nuclear evil.

But even this blatant inconsistency does not seem to bother Reagan's analysts, who apparently have decided to write off relations with India for the foreseeable future and exacerbate potentially explosive tensions between Pakistan and her giant neighbor by dumping millions of dollars worth of military hardware into the lap of the unstable Zia.

This disastrous strategy may turn out to send signals exactly the opposite of what Washington intended. Instead of making Pakistan an anti-Soviet bulwark in southern Asia, U.S. support for Zia could well drive his opponents, which now include virtually every political party in Pakistan, into waiting Soviet arms. And rudely rebuffed India may eventually decide that Moscow's assistance is necessary to counteract the sudden U.S.-funded weapons build-up by the despotic government in Karachi.

Worse yet, the Reagan administration has not extracted even the pretext of reciprocity from the cagey Zia. Undersecretary of State James Buckley returned from an official visit to Pakistan and told a concerned Senate committee on June 24 that "I was assured by the president that it is not the intention of the Pakistani government to develop nuclear weapons."

That's a far cry from what foreign minister Shahi said just six days later. "Now about the statement attributed to Mr. Buckley that Pakistan has said it will not stage an atomic explosion...we have given no undertaking to Mr. Buckley about explosion."

The U.S., Shahi continued, "wants to make it a condition that Pakistan give unilateral assurances and accept discriminatory orders in order to qualify for this [nuclear enrichment] program. Naturally Pakistan would have to make known its

position that such conditions would be unacceptable."

At the same time, Associated Press showed the extent of the nuclear duplicity by revealing a secret State Department cable that declared "We have strong reason to believe that Pakistan is seeking to develop a nuclear explosive capability."

Meanwhile, according to Claudia Wright of the *New Statesman*, State Department experts have identified a site in southern Turkey that is a facility for assembling and testing Pakistani nuclear devices. But Reagan administration spokesmen are breathing easier because the press has chosen to ignore the gap

between what the State Department knows privately and what Buckley told the Senate.

#### A flood of narcotics.

But Zia's two-faced attitude toward his Soviet neighbors and joint U.S.-Pakistan deceptions about Karachi's nuclear plans only scratch the surface. Almost no one in the Western press had bothered to report on the massive student riotings, public floggings, university closings and noisy, widespread opposition to Zia's economically troubled regime. The only official notice by American diplomats was some private griping by U.S. Ambassador Arthur Hummel (since transferred to Peking) that the Western press wasn't reporting enough of the "positive" aspects of the Zia regime.

Neither have U.S. diplomats bothered to take action on their own warnings to Americans not to wander about in Western dress in the marketplaces of Pakistan's cities; several American women have already been assaulted and spat upon by angry mobs that in some cases have attacked Americans on sight. Anti-Americanism, which made itself known during the burning and sacking of the U.S. embassy in November 1979, is now rampant among many Pakistanis because American military might is so closely identified with Zia's brutal crackdowns.

Nor have our officials asked what Zia intends to do about Pakistan's government-operated airline, PIA, which, according to secret CIA cables, has been smuggling vast amounts of drugs into major U.S. airports for as long as seven years with the full knowledge of our intelligence community.

Karachi is the center of a burgeoning Asian drug network that has recently fed tons of deadly pure heroin into American back streets and alleys. But Reagan's global strategists have dismissed this tragedy, a major cause of urban crime, as an unfortunate minor sidelight.

The bottom line is that diplomatic double-dealing, secret nuclear proliferation and weapons production, narcotics and billions of dollars in debt are all the U.S. is likely to gain from its unholy alliance with Zia, whom one official has described as an "extraordinarily weak ruler with extraordinarily weak legitimacy."

Meanwhile, congressional opposition is growing over the sale of F-16s to Pakistan and will be the focus of a major foreign policy showdown for the administration next month. Three staffers from the House foreign affairs committee who recently completed a fact-finding mission to Karachi will report shortly regarding their findings about the controversial Zia regime.

Jack Mitchell and Indy Badhwar are staff reporters for columnist Jack Anderson in Washington.

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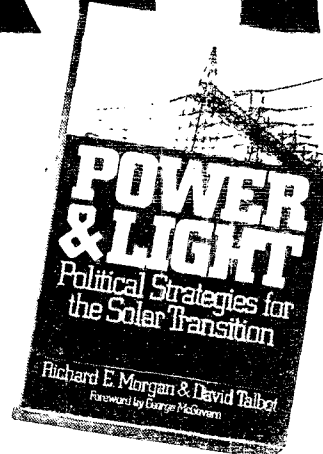
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## By Lenny Goldberg

Californians are already gearing up for a June referendum on an issue that will overshadow all other items on the ballot—water development. At that time they will be asked to vote for or against Senate Bill 200, which authorizes the controversial Peripheral Canal and other new water projects in the first referendum on a pending bill in California since 1951.

When Governor Jerry Brown signed SB 200 at a televised press conference more than a year ago, he announced that the stalemate over California water development had finally been broken. California would have massive new water development, including the Peripheral Canal—and also environmental protection.

But those whose environment was allegedly being protected saw things differently. A small group in Northern California started circulating petitions to put the matter on the ballot and easily qualified. The upcoming referendum has shaken traditional political alignments, sent powerful politicians scurrying for cover and has raised issues that could change the future direction of California's economy and politics.

When the stakes are momentous in California, the issue is usually water—who gets it, where it comes from, how it is developed, who pays for it. It is a cliché that water is the lifeblood of California politics, but no one who lives in this state can help but be affected by water issues. Agriculture has its eye on the wild North Coast as a potential water bonanza; San Franciscans worry about water quality in the Bay; Delta farmers and San Joaquin Valley agribusiness corporations are constantly at odds over who gets what water; and, of course, the vast southland of Los Angeles and San Diego is nothing but a desert without a continual flow of the precious fluid.

The referendum has challenged a compromise that was many years in the making. It has broken apart the skillfully arranged agreements between powerful water interests, the Brown administration, liberal and conservative legislators from the South and some environmentalists. Instead, a new coalition has formed that may be as bizarre as any ever seen here: large agribusiness corporations and Friends of the Earth, consumer advocates and the Farm Bureau, urban liberals and rural Republicans. These groups share a common goal: defeating the Peripheral Canal and S.B. 200. What they do not share is a future vision of California. With the advent of this campaign that future is now up for grabs.

Traditionally, California's water problem has been understood as one of demographics and geography. Most of the water is in the North, most of the people in the South; the water that is "wasted" as it flows unused to the ocean in the North is badly needed by agriculture in the San Joaquin Valley. This view of the water problem, while true as far as it goes, recently has been under attack. But it has been widely promulgated and ac-

cepted by the various water interests and politicians who have determined water policy for the last 50 years.

In the late '50s and early '60s, when Pat Brown was governor, voters approved a massive development system to transfer water from North to South called the State Water Project. This project had two advantages: it increased the amount of water that could be moved southward, and it avoided the 160-acre limitation that was a condition of receiving water from federally subsidized projects. Now, huge corporations could receive cheap water without the "family farm" restrictions imposed by federal reclamation law.

But a problem remained: only a limited amount of water could be pumped from the Delta, into which northern water flowed. Southern and valley water interests have long looked for a means of increasing the amount of water that can be moved South. They believe they have found it in the Peripheral Canal.

The Canal would be a massive ditch 43 miles long, 400 feet wide and deep enough to float an ocean liner. It would pick up water flowing from the Sacramento River to the North, divert it around the east side of the Delta, and deliver it to the aqueduct system to the South. While it would have release gates that would allow water to flow through the Delta and out into San Francisco Bay, it could also divert up to 70 percent of the flow from the Sacramento River toward the South.

Opposition to the Canal has centered in three areas: the Delta, the San Francisco Bay Area and the North Coast. In the Delta, farmers, duckhunters, boaters, fishers and environmentalists all fear that the Canal might destroy rich farmland as well as hundreds of miles of meandering streams and lush recreational areas. Bay Area residents fear that San Francisco Bay could become stagnant and filthy without enough fresh water flow to flush it out to the ocean.

On the North Coast, opposition stems from the Canal's potential to carry water away from the wild rivers of the North. Agricultural interests have long coveted those free-flowing rivers, which they would like dammed, reversed and sent down the valley instead of flowing westward to the Pacific. The Canal has been referred to as "a loaded gun pointed at the North Coast Rivers," and has been fought by the fishing, timber and tourist industries that comprise a major part of the economy of the northern counties.

Arranged on the other side of the debate are the huge Metropolitan Water District (MWD) of Los Angeles, the Kern County Water Agency and the large agribusiness corporations in the San Joaquin Valley. Their charge has been led in the media by the *Los Angeles Times*, whose parent company is also a major owner of the vast Tejon Ranch, one of the potential beneficiaries of the Peripheral Canal. This alliance has promoted billions of dollars worth of dams and thousands of miles of canals since the '30s, and now sees the Peripheral Canal in the '80s as the fulfillment of the State Water Project.

This coalition argues, straightforwardly, that they need the water. Southern agriculture has already had serious problems of groundwater overdrafts, and would like to bring new lands into irrigation. Los Angeles will lose some of its entitlements to Colorado River Water when the Central Arizona Project begins to divert water in 1985. Based on growth projections in Southern California (which are inflated, according to critics), the MWD has predicted a water shortfall in Los Angeles by the year 2000.

So far, this characterization of the water problem—damage to the environment in the North versus the need for water in the South—has framed most of the public discussion of the Canal and related water development. But the real issues are eco-

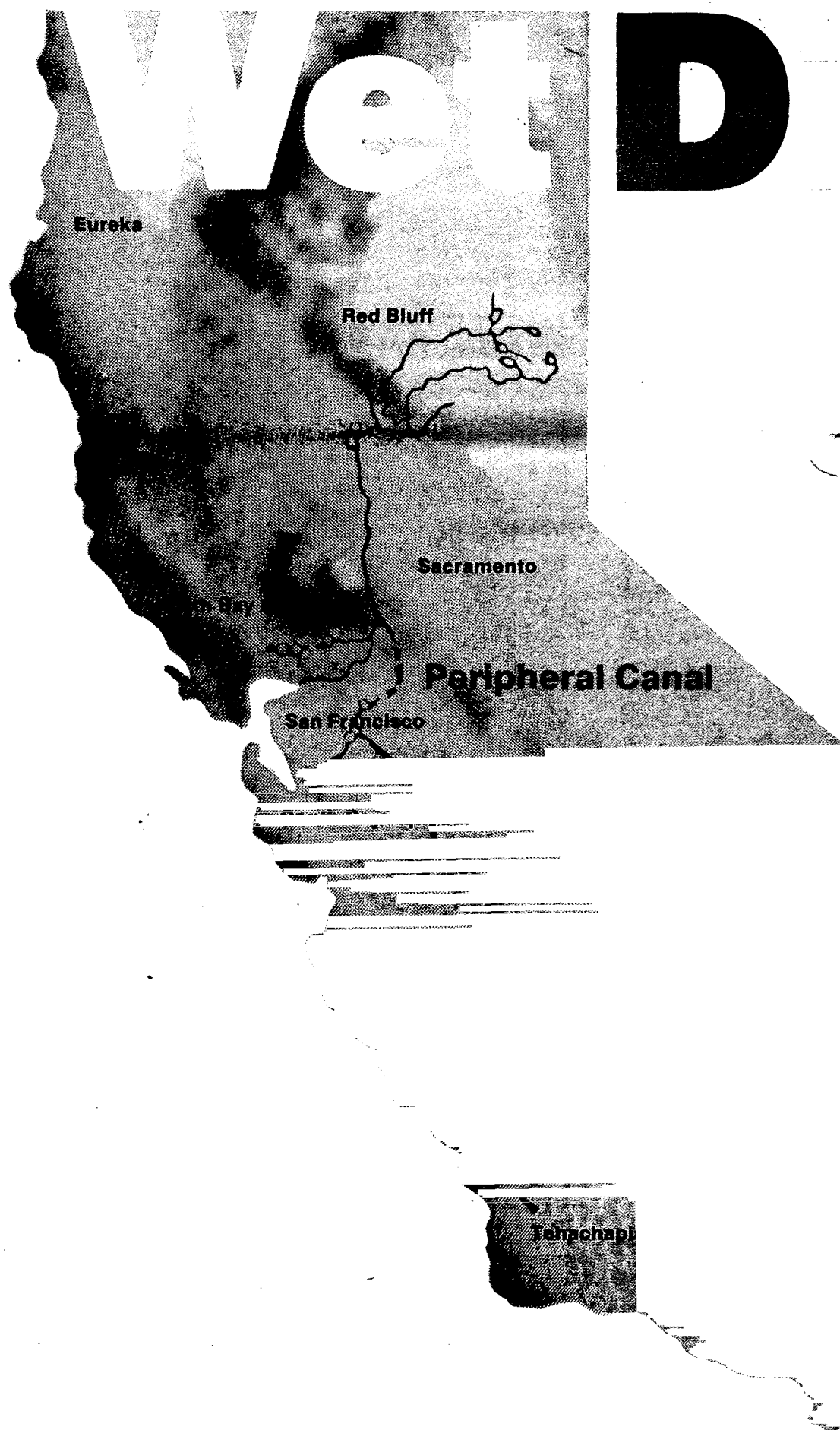
nomic ones. California's water system is wasteful on a grand scale, and is structured in such a way as to provide ongoing subsidies to large corporate users.

Negotiations in the legislature went on for four years before S.B. 200 was finally passed. Agreements on the Canal authorization were extraordinarily difficult to piece together. The Brown administration had both a substantial environmentalist constituency and a Department of Water Resources that fully supported the Canal. Liberals from Los Angeles and San Diego wanted the water, but were unwilling to participate in the destruction of the North. And southern conservatives and the San Joaquin Valley growers






wanted all the water they could get, with no strings attached.

The carefully worked-out compromise provided that limited protections for the Delta and the North Coast Rivers would be placed in the California Constitution, subject to voter approval in the November election. After such approval, planning and construction of the Canal could proceed. A confused electorate did approve these protections by a slim margin. But by that time, the referendum petitions had been circulated and the wheels of water development ground to a halt.

The problem with the compromise is that it satisfied almost no one. Northerners believed that once the Canal was built, general and reversible protections in the Constitution would not be worth the paper they were written on, particularly in low rainfall years. They pointed to agriculture's resistance to groundwater





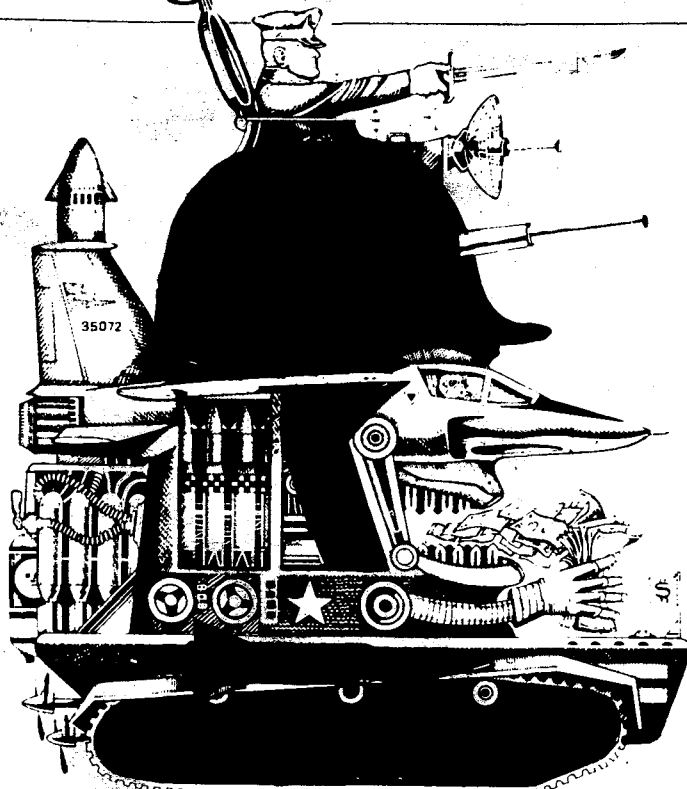
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The crescent of nations extending from Ethiopia through the Arab world to Iran and Afghanistan has become the setting of an intense new geopolitical drama. In this incisive study, Halliday reviews the complex role played there by the Soviet Union—a role shaped as much by caution as by opportunity, as much by reaction to American moves as by Soviet initiative. Above all, the Soviet role is defined and limited by the indigenous politics of the region.

### ROOTS OF WAR: The Men and Institutions Behind U.S. Foreign Policy

Richard J. Barnet. (1973) 350 pp. paper, Penguin, \$5.95.

The first comprehensive investigation of the forces in American life that have kept this country in a succession of wars since WWII.

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*The New York Times Book Review*

### A CONTINENT BESEIGED: Foreign Military Activities in Africa Since 1975

Daniel Volman. (1980) 32 pp. Report, \$2.00.

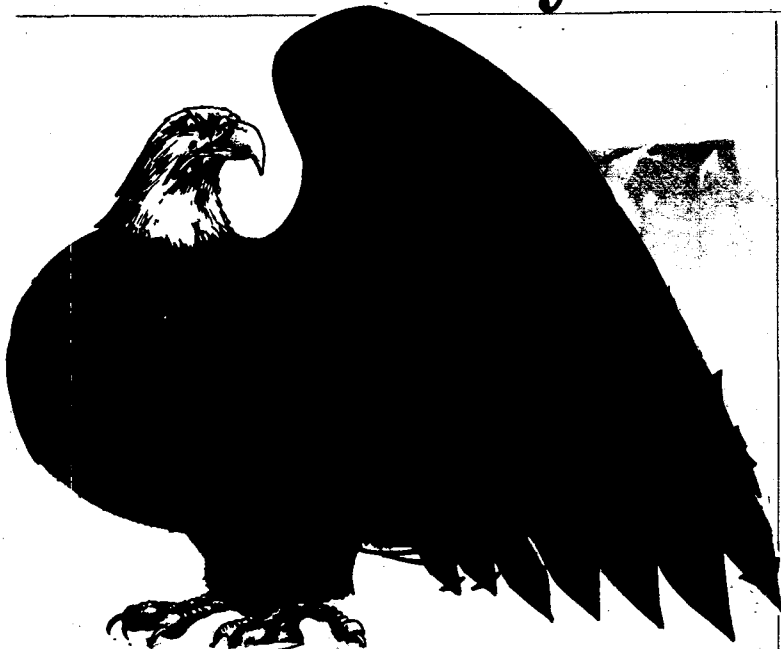
A study of the growing military involvement of the two superpowers and their allies in Africa.

### CONFLICT AND INTERVENTION IN THE HORN OF AFRICA

Bereket Habte Selassie. (1980) 288 pp. cloth, Monthly Review Press, \$15.00.

A thoughtful examination of the history and geography of the conflict in the Horn of Africa. Detailing the crucial role of intervention by the big powers and neighboring Arab countries in promoting present hostilities, this study also presents a history of Ethiopian expansionism and an analysis of the national forces fighting for self-determination in Eritrea.

## National Security



### REAL SECURITY: Restoring American Power in a Dangerous Decade

Richard J. Barnet. (1981) 120 pp. Simon and Schuster, \$10.95 (paper, \$4.95).

"Real Security is a tour de force, a gift to the country. One of the most impassioned and effective arguments for sanity and survival that I have ever read."

Dr. Robert L. Heilbroner

### RESEARCH GUIDE TO CURRENT MILITARY AND STRATEGIC AFFAIRS

William M. Arkin. (1981) ca 250 pp. paper, ISBN 0-89758-027-7, \$15.95 (paper, \$7.95).

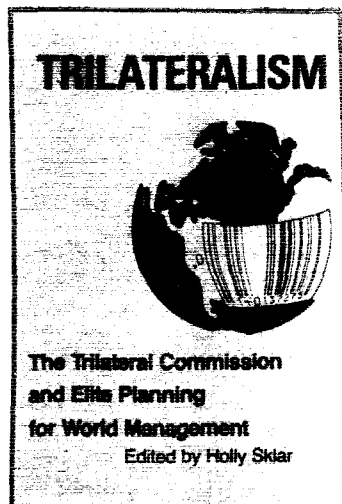
The first comprehensive guide to public information sources on the U.S. military establishment. Soviet and other foreign military affairs, and global strategic issues. Provides descriptions of all basic research tools. Topics include: the U.S. military defense policy and posture; the defense budget; arms sales and military aid; weapons systems; NATO arms control and disarmament; and intelligence operations.



# al Economics

## THE BROTHERHOOD OF OIL Energy Policy and the Public Interest

Robert Engler. (1977) 337 pp., cloth, University of Chicago, \$12.50 (\$2.95, paper). "the best single study of the energy industry so far." *The New York Review of Books*



## TRILATERALISM: The Trilateral Commission and Elite Planning for World Management

Holly Sklar, Editor. (1980) 600 pp., South End Press, \$20.00 (paper, \$8.00). A reader defining the role of trilateralism in managing dependence and democracy. Essays focus on the Trilateral Commission; the history of elite planning; trilateralism in relation to the "crisis of democracy," the domestic U.S. economy, international business, and Third World dependence; and challenges to the trilateral system.

## SOUTH AFRICA: Foreign Investment and Apartheid

Lawrence Litvak, Robert DeGrasse, Kathleen McTigue. (1978) 100 pp., paper, \$3.95. "Its concise and well-documented debunking of the myth that foreign investment will eventually change the system of exploitation and repression in South Africa deserves wide readership... Highly recommended." *Library Journal*



## FEEDING THE FEW: Corporate Control of Food

Susan George. (1978) 79 pp., paper, ISBN 0-89758-910-9, \$4.95. The author of *How the Other Half Dies* has extended her critique of the world food system which is geared towards profit not people. "This study draws the links between the hungry at home and those abroad exposing the economic and political forces pushing us towards a unified global food system."

## HOW THE OTHER HALF DIES

Susan George. (1977) 308 pp., paper, Allenheld-Gosman, \$6.95. This important examination of multinational agribusiness corporations explains that the roots of hunger are not overpopulation, changing climate, or bad weather, but rather the control of food by the rich. "A most intelligent, urgent and thought-provoking book on a truly vital subject." John Kenneth Galbraith

## GLOBAL REACH: The Power of the Multinational Corporations

Richard Barnett and Ronald Müller. (1974) 508 pp., paper, Simon & Schuster, \$7.95. "A searching, provocative inquiry into global corporations... Barnett and Müller are trenchant and telling in their discussion of the possible end of the nation-state, and have some penetrating views on 'economic imperialism' and future changes in employment patterns and the standard of living under the domination of the global oligopolists." *Publishers Weekly*

## THE NEW TECHNOLOGY

Counter Information Services. (1979) 40 pp., paper, \$2.95. This report investigates the effects of new technology. Examining the current revolution in microelectronics, the survey demonstrates that while electronic "chips" could eliminate tedious jobs, reduce work time and enhance the quality of life for millions, the resulting efficiency will increase unemployment and shift remaining jobs to unskilled work forces.

## THE CRISIS OF THE CORPORATION

Richard Barnett. (1975) 28 pp., paper, \$1.50. Now a classic, this essay analyzes the power of the multinational corporations which dominate the U.S. economy, showing how the growth of multinationals inevitably results in an extreme concentration of economic and political power in a few hands.

## DECODING CORPORATE CAMOUFLAGE: U.S. Business Support for Apartheid

Elizabeth Schmidt. (1980) 127 pp., paper, ISBN 0-89758-022-2, \$4.95. Foreword by Congressman Ron Dellums. By exposing the decisive role of U.S. corporations in sustaining apartheid, this study places highly-touted employment "reforms" in the context of the systematic economic exploitation and political repression of the black South African majority.

## FOOD FIRST: Beyond The Myth of Scarcity

Frances Moore Lappe and Joseph Collins with Cary Fowler. (1977) 466 pp., paper, \$3.95. This excellent study by the Institute for Food and Development Policy attributes the causes of world hunger to concentration of economic policy in the hands of elites who profit by the generation of scarcity and the internationalization of food control. "... with its vigorously uncompromising point of view and carefully thought out and documented analysis, it is clearly a major achievement." *The Washington Post*

## WORLD HUNGER: TEN MYTHS

Frances Moore Lappe and Joseph Collins. (1977) 50 pp., paper, \$2.75.

## CRY OF THE PEOPLE United States Involvement in the Rise of Fascism, Torture, and Murder and the Persecution of the Catholic Church in Latin America

Penny Lernoux. (1980) 535 pp., cloth, Doubleday, \$14.95. "... broadly ambitious in scope and finely detailed in research—a book that pours out everything Lernoux knows about Latin America—and it is a vast amount... the fascism rampant in Latin America, the political murders and torture... the responsibility that our government, our business and union leaders, our military and intelligence services share for the sad state of the peoples we call our neighbors and treat as our enemies." *The New York Times Book Review*

## THE WASHINGTON CONNECTION AND THIRD WORLD FASCISM

Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman. (1979) 434 pp., South End Press, cloth, \$15.00 (paper, \$6.50). "A brilliant, shattering, and convincing account of United States-backed suppression of political and human rights in the Third World..."

Gabriel Kolko

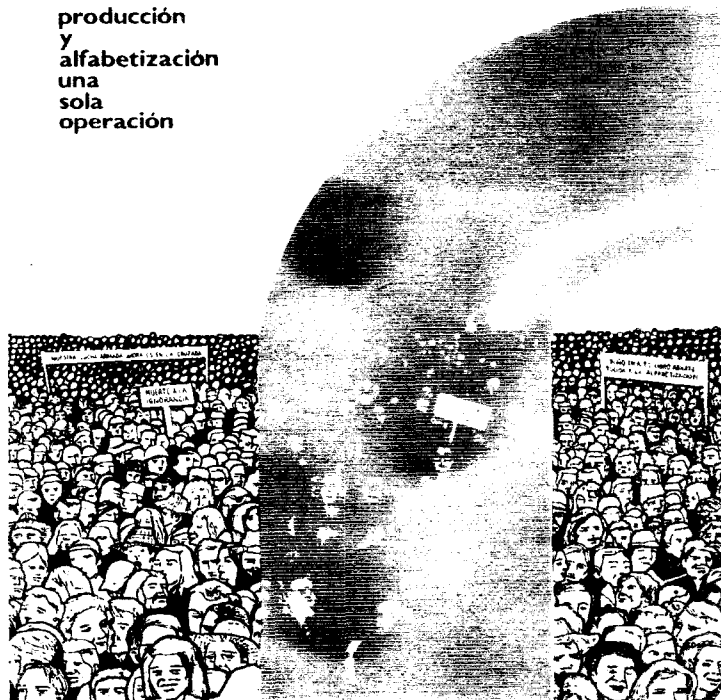
"... devastating logic and overwhelming documentation..." Paul Sweezy

## HUMAN RIGHTS AND VITAL NEEDS

Peter Weiss. (1977) 5 pp., Issue Paper, \$1.00. Delivered one year after the assassination of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Karpen Moffitt, this extraordinary address commemorates them by calling for a human rights policy that includes not only political and civil rights, but economic, social, and cultural rights as well.

## convirtiendo la oscurana en claridad

producción  
y  
alfabetización  
una  
sola  
operación



## THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION: A Personal Report

Richard R. Fagen. (1981) ca 60 pp., paper, ISBN 0-89758-030-3, \$4.00. Tracing the history of the Nicaraguan Revolution, Stanford University Professor Richard Fagen focuses on six legacies that define current Nicaraguan reality: armed struggle; internationalization of the conflict; national unity; democratic visions; death, destruction, and debts; and political bankruptcy. This primer on the state of Nicaraguan politics and economics provides an insightful view of the Sandinist quest for power and hegemony. The report contains twenty photographs by Marcelo Montecino and appendices with the basic documents necessary for a comprehension of contemporary Nicaraguan affairs.

## CHILE: Economic 'Freedom' and Political Repression

Orlando Letelier. (1976), 17 pp., paper, \$1.00. A dramatic analysis by the former leading official of the Allende government who was assassinated by the Pinochet junta. This essay demonstrates the necessary relationship between an economic development model which benefits only the wealthy few and the political terror which has reigned in Chile since the overthrow of the Allende regime.

## CHILE: A Report to the Freedom-to-Write Committee

PEN American Center with an Introduction by Isabel Letelier. (1980) 56 pp., paper, \$2.00. A collection of essays on the difficulties of cultural survival in the wake of the destruction of Chilean society by the coup d'etat which overthrew the democratically-elected government of Salvador Allende.

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## ASSASSINATION ON EMBASSY ROW

John Dinges and Saul Landau. (1980) 384 pp., cloth, Pantheon, \$14.95.

A devastating political document that probes all aspects of the Letelier-Moffitt assassinations, interweaving the investigations of the murder by the FBI and the Institute. The story surpasses the most sophisticated fiction in depth of characterization at the same time that it raises serious and tantalizing questions about the response of American intelligence and foreign policy to international terrorism.

"... An engrossing study of international politics and subversion..." *Kirkus Reviews*

"... A superb spy thriller..."

*Newsweek*

## THE LEAN YEARS Politics in the Age of Scarcity

Richard J. Barnett. (1980) 320 pp., cloth, Simon & Schuster, \$12.95.

A lucid and startling analysis of basic global resources: energy, non-fuel minerals, food, water, and human labor. The depletion and maldistribution of supplies bodes a new global economic, political and military order in the 1980s. "... brilliantly informed book... cogent, aphoristic pulling together of the skeins of catastrophic scarcity in 'the coming postpetroleum world..."

*Publishers Weekly*





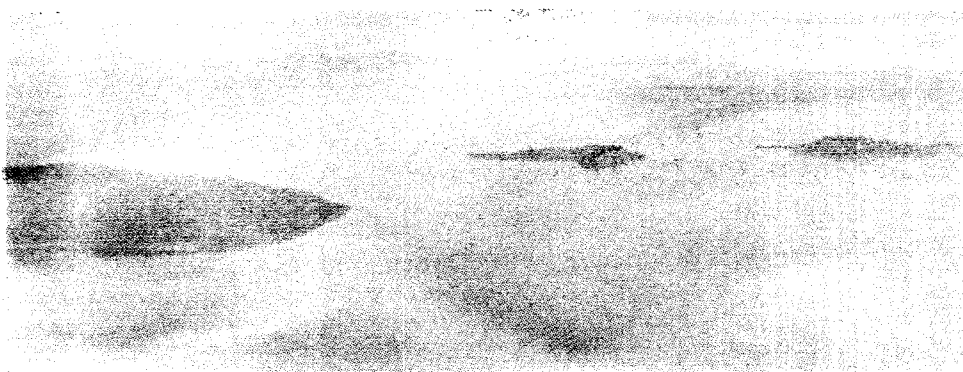


to the thirsty  
one of the largest  
at state voters may  
ter politics.

management and mandatory water conservation as evidence that the Valley would continue to demand, and receive, huge diversions of water.

The Valley, for its part, had doubts about whether they could get enough water from the agreement. When Secretary of the Interior Andrus, in one of his last acts, granted Federal Wild Rivers

*Continued on page 22*



Before: Mono Lake in its pristine state.

## The slow death of Mono Lake

Northern California rivers and San Francisco Bay are not the only water resources being threatened by the Metropolitan Water District (MWD) of Los Angeles. The MWD's policy of draining water from the north has already critically depleted the waters of Mono Lake, a feeding and breeding ground for millions of migrating birds. The oldest inland sea in North America, Mono Lake is located on the east side of the Sierra Nevada range just north of Yosemite.

For more than 700,000 years water has flowed down the east slope of the Sierra into the gigantic basin where Mono gathers. The lake has seldom overflowed, and through the years the minerals that wash from desert and mountain have collected in the lake in a concentration matched only by the Rift Valley of Africa. Los Angeles began diverting stream flows that formerly supplied the lake in 1941. Since then Mono's level has fallen 40 feet, causing a steady increase in the salinity and alkalinity of its waters and exposing some of its islands to coyotes who eat the eggs and young of the California gulls and arctic birds stopping to feed on their way south.

Until this year the billions of brine shrimp and brine flies that grow in the lake each spring have fed 78 species of waterbirds—some that migrate more than 5,000 miles—including 95 percent of all California gulls in the state—25 percent of all that species in the world. But with the volume of the lake now reduced by half, the brine shrimp and flies seem unable to survive in the increasingly salty water. Deprived of their food, some 28,000 of the 30,000 gull chicks born at Mono this year died.

Four conservation groups, the National and Los Angeles Audubon Societies, Friends of the Earth and the Mono Lake Committee have filed suit in federal courts against the MWD for

violating a public trust by diverting water from the lake. They have also collected 40,000 signatures on a petition to restore the lake to its 1970 water level. Secretary of Interior James Watt, on the other hand, has circulated a letter among California county and city governments requesting their wishes on the transfer of public lands to local ownership, and the MWD has replied with an application to buy 23,000 acres of Bureau of Land Management and Forest Service land in Mono County, most of it on Mono's shores. A 1936 congressional provision would allow the MWD to purchase the land at \$1.25 per acre, unless a bill introduced in the House in June by Norman Humway (R-Calif.) to declare Mono Lake a national monument prevents it.

—I.T. Semit

After: The water level at Mono Lake has dropped so much that islands are now part of the mainland.



Los Angeles

San Diego



## EDITORIAL

*A defense program that endangers all*

On Oct. 3 President Reagan announced that he intended to "insure America's national security while pursuing every path to peace." His method: placing MX missiles in "superhardened" silos and reviving the B-1 bomber as part of an overall increase over the existing arms budget of \$180.3 billion in five years.

In fact, Reagan's arms program will simply accelerate an arms race already almost out of control and will further erode our security both militarily and socially. Reagan's supply-side gift—in the form of a tax cut of tens of billions of dollars to corporate interests who have no place to invest it productively—has already begun to threaten many millions of working and unemployed Americans. His arms program, if adopted (which seems likely) will similarly benefit a handful of giant corporate arms manufacturers while reducing employment, continuing the deterioration of all public services and increasing the all-too-real threat of nuclear annihilation.

Of course, Reagan doesn't see it that way. He and Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger argue that the increased spending on arms is needed to prevent the Soviets from opening a "window of vulnerability," or, in English, from making this country vulnerable to surprise attack on the 1,000 Minutemen missiles and 53 Titan missiles now dispersed in concrete silos around the country, as well as from other Soviet threats.

The MX missile, which has been the key element in recent arms proposals, was not Reagan's idea. Indeed, Reagan has backed off from President Carter's Rube Goldberg scheme of shuttling 200 MX missiles back and forth across the desert among 4,600 silos—not because he is any more rational than Carter, but because of widespread popular opposition, including that of the Mormon church and, as a result, that of most Utah and Nevada politicians. But Reagan's ditching of this modern subway in the wilderness and his substitution of a plan instead to reinforce existing Minuteman and Titan silos reveals either the hypocrisy or insanity of our "defense" officials.

Carter's plan was a shell game that nevertheless could be defended as a second-strike strategy designed to protect the MX counter-strike missiles by confusing the Russians as to their location at any given time. The Carter plan ultimately made no sense as a genuine second-

would not protect the MX, which would therefore have to be launched before a Soviet attack or be destroyed.

The Soviets must certainly realize this, and thus are presented by Reagan with a strong incentive to launch their own preemptive strike in time of crisis. In short, the Reagan plan, if adopted, will bring us one giant step nearer to nuclear war and to the end of modern civilization.

Reagan's revival of the B-1 bomber, if less dangerous to world peace, is equally wasteful. At a cost of \$200 million each, the B-1 is the world's most expensive

threatened by any increase in spending for arms, especially when such spending is at the expense of badly needed social investments.

We do face a crisis of national security. Unemployment has already destroyed the security of millions of Americans and threatens millions more. Decaying public schools and budget cuts for all levels of public education threatens the security of the majority of young Americans. Steadily rising medical costs and the absence of an adequate health care system threatens the health of more and more Americans.

quantities of machinery, tools, engineers, energy, raw materials, skilled labor and managers—resources identified everywhere as the 'fixed and working capital' that is vital for production."

The impact of military spending is also reflected in the high level of unemployment. If tax dollars were spent on needed social services they would provide many more jobs, as well as the services. Investing a mere \$1 billion of the funds now going to arms in health care, for example, would yield a net gain of 64,000 jobs. One billion dollars invested in education



"IT'S TRUE ALMOST EVERYBODY'S GOT THE BOMB, BUT OURS IS BIGGER AND BETTER."

*No one can win a nuclear war, but the present level of arms spending could destroy the U.S. and Reagan's plan could destroy the world.*

strike strategy because the MX missiles, designed to destroy Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles, could actually destroy them only if the MX were used in a first strike. Otherwise they would hit only empty Russian silos.

The Reagan plan is even more transparent. It clearly is a first-strike strategy, because placement of the MX in "superhardened" silos cannot protect them against a direct hit by a Soviet ICBM. As Defense Secretary Weinberger's own report on Soviet military power argued (only two days before Reagan's MX decision was announced), the Soviets now have SS-18 missiles deployed that "are capable of destroying any known fixed target with high probability." Thus, by Weinberger's own admission the superhardened silos proposed by Reagan

plane. The 100 B-1's that Reagan proposes will cost \$20 billion, yet most military experts agree that they will provide less effective penetration of Soviet defenses than the cruise missiles now being deployed on existing B-52 bombers. As the *New York Times* wrote on Oct. 4, "The B-1 is expensive as a bone to throw either at the Air Force in exchange for an MX slowdown—or to the Republican right outraged when President Carter canceled the bomber in 1977." But then, in Reagan's eyes, these are the truly needy.

#### The real threat to security.

The simple fact is that no one can win a nuclear war given the existing power of the Soviet Union and the United States. In fact our national security is seriously

Poorly maintained and increasingly expensive mass transit systems in virtually every major American city threaten the safety of working people and their ability to get around. Pollution of our air and water threatens the health of all Americans and our natural environment.

The list goes on, but the point is that all areas of social need that are no longer sources of private profit are at risk, and that every dollar spent on superfluous arms is a dollar taken away from a pressing social need.

#### Jobs versus missiles.

Further, as Seymour Melman has pointed out time and again, the deterioration taking place because of armaments spending affects not only social services, but also the industrial base in general. As Melman notes, \$46 of every \$100 of new fixed capital formation was going to military production by 1977, compared to \$3.70 per \$100 of investment in Japan. Largely for that reason, Melman argues, Japan's productivity grew 6.2 percent in 1980, while in the U.S. average output per worker declined by 0.5 percent. The U.S. has achieved its present state of "industrial deterioration," he writes, "by assigning to the military economy large

would create 110,000 additional jobs. And \$1 billion in public housing construction would generate another 100,000 new jobs. Diverting \$100 billion from military spending would provide from five to 10 million new jobs and go a long way toward meeting our more pressing social needs.

If this makes sense to us, why doesn't it make sense to Reagan and his corporate sponsors? One reason is that the relaxation of international tensions and of social tensions at home threatens social control by corporate capital. Another is that a large-scale program of social investment—to the point where social services were modern and efficient—would be seen, correctly, as a step toward socialism, and that would threaten the political control of corporate capital.

The program makes sense, but there are few signs that a political movement committed to it is emerging. Nevertheless, to defeat Reaganism, and to move beyond the discredited policies and programs of the Democrats that gave us Reagan, will require a political movement that opposes present military policies and proposes the necessary social ones. We can't have guns and butter. ■



# LETTERS

*IN THESE TIMES* is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## CONSUMERS

**Y**OUR ARTICLE ON WISCONSIN'S CITIZEN'S Utility Board (ITT, Sept. 16) was long overdue. It gives some much needed publicity to the concept of consumer unions, though it falls short of fully illuminating the role of CUB in the expansion and growth of such organizations.

The potential of the check-off mechanism whereby a consumer becomes a member of CUB is not limited to the utility industry. This check-off mechanism can be implemented in any industry that sends out regular billing statements to its customers. Thus, using CUB as a landmark institution, consumer activists around the country will be able to work toward the establishment of consumer unions in industries like insurance, credit cards, car purchases and payments, rental agreements, banking and others.

The effort to establish consumer unions is not merely being waged on the state level. We at the Missouri Public Interest Research Group (MoPIRG), as well as working to establish a Missouri CUB via the referendum process, are currently working on the national level for the passage of the National Consumer Relations Act. Such legislation would recognize the rights of consumers to organize in the marketplace much the same way labor organizes in the workplace. The best representatives of consumers' interests are consumers. Until they achieve the right to organize in the marketplace through a collective process, the interests of consumers will not be fairly represented in corporate board rooms or in the halls of government.

—Kevin D. Schneider  
Kansas City Canvass Director, MoPIRG

## CONFUSED BY DIVERSITY

**F**IRE THE EDITOR! FOR NEARLY SIX years he has staunchly held the fort against any suggestion that there might be any humanist merit to anything done by the Soviet government. Clearly, his eyes are now clouding and someone more vigilant must take his place. How else explain the publication of Steve Kovacs' piece, "Anti-Soviet rhetoric stubs toe in the press" (ITT, Sept. 23)? Doesn't the editor read his own paper? It says clearly, on page six of the same issue, discussing the socialist academics of whom it approves: "They rejected the Soviet model of socialism." Can anyone conceive of Seymour Martin Lipset recommending tenure (same article) to anyone who has the slightest doubt on that score? Of course the man got his tenure.

Is there no publication but *The New Leader* one can rely on any more for 100 percent protection against infiltration by the Communi-Nazi line?

—William M. Mandel  
Berkeley, Calif.

## PAT FOR PAT

**P**AT AUFDERHEIDE'S REVIEW OF *First Monday in October* is a particularly fine example of the breaking through glitter to light which is so frequently achieved by writers in ITT. Her review of *The Perfumed Nightmare* on the same page leaves one with a heady sense of the possibility of the kind of dialog in solidarity between white folks and the inhabitants of the third world that may someday save us from self-de-

struction. I am continually grateful to her and to all of you for the assistance you provide me in maintaining some semblance of sanity, some kind of a handle on what is happening around me and some remnant of optimism about the future of human kind.

—David Sweet  
Director, Mexico Study Center  
Mexico, D.F.

## THEATER

**J**OEL SCHECHTER (ITT, SEPT. 9) CONTRIBUTES an informative article on theater in the U.K. in the course of which he gratuitously slights American playwrighting for lacking leftist playwrights and for collectively concentrating its talents on family drama. He comes nearer to the truth when he remarks, "America's left has yet to develop nationally prominent...socialist playwrights," that is, we don't have any that are commercially viable. Living in New York City I have seen plenty of good socially conscious drama, old and new, on limited run.

For one, the so-called classic American writers, if no socialists, did dabble in politically relevant theater before they straightened up. O'Neil's *Hairy Ape* gives us the brutalized proletarians vs. the idle rich and is, for my taste, a more deeply felt work than his later trashy Greek revivals and psychoanalytic soap opera. As for Shepard, he spent 10 years turning out critiques of American mythology (like *Cowboy Mouth* and *The Tooth of Crime*) before he was commissioned to do a family play for the Public Theater. However, it was only with this family play, *Curse of the Starving Class*, that he became "prominent."

Second, the best plays of the '70s in New York theater were political, even didactically political. Take Ed Bullins' *Joann* about the Joann Little case. Take Edgar White's *The Defense* about a black security guard who comes to realize that in his job he is policing his own people for the man. These were plays that had powerful plots, strong characterizations, skillful dialogue, and real questions. Assaults on the senses and conscience.

There have been plays like this. Last season's *When the Chickens Come Home to Roost*, about a confrontation between Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammad, was a recent example, and the plays usually shared the same fate. They had extended runs, were often sold out at the Henry Street Settlement Playhouse or the Riverside Church. But they were ignored by the critics and could not find backers to take them to more visible theaters.

—Jim Feast  
Brooklyn, N.Y.

## LABOR SHOULD LEAD

**I**N THEIR ARTICLE ON SOLIDARITY Day (ITT, Sept. 30), David Moberg and John Judis said that "blacks as well as women were fully represented, reflecting their growing importance in the labor movement."

Black, Chicano, and other oppressed nationality workers have always been critically important to the labor movement. It hasn't been their fault that too often they've been kept out by much of organized labor. This in fact contributed to the need for the civil rights movement, including the 1963 March on Washington to which so many speakers felt obliged to refer. The civil rights movement's struggle to win con-

sistent democratic rights has strengthened the labor movement. The organizing drive by Local 1199-B in Charleston and the strike by Memphis garbage workers when Martin Luther King was assassinated were key battles in the struggle.

Here in the Southwest, as long as most unions are reluctant to launch a major political defense of the rights of undocumented workers, they will make no major gains in organizing the workforce (including the many women in garment and electronics plants) or in staying off increasingly enthusiastic attempts at union-busting and expanding right-to-work legislation.

Solidarity Day would have been more effective as a stand against Reaganism, and would have inspired more rank-and-file confidence in top union leadership, if Kirkland and his associates would recognize more convincingly that Reaganism means still more hardships for black, Chicano and other minority workers. On behalf of all workers, organized labor must begin to lead the opposition to these new attacks.

—Peggy Baker  
Bellflower, Calif.

## WANTS TO HELP

**O**NLY IN *THESE TIMES* GAVE ME ANY information on the primary results in the New York City elections. As a retired teacher living in Michigan's beautiful but isolated upper peninsula, I'd like to know to whom I could send a pittance to help Frank Barbaro's general election campaign. The address with zip code please. Put the answer in ITT for others who might like to contribute.

—Richard D. Rowley  
Ewen, Mich.

Editor's note: Barbaro for Mayor, 165 Lexington Ave., New York, NY 10016.

## TAKE THIS MOP AND MOP

**T**HERE IS NOTHING WRONG ABOUT mopping a floor—even for pay (ITT, Oct. 2). What is wrong is our values we place on work. We need floor-mopping, spinach-picking and lawn-mowing, but when we do it we should feel proud that we're doing something necessary.

Payment for the most necessary work is the lowest. It should be the highest—or fewer hours should be needed so that the doer could have time for aesthetic pursuits. Selling bonds, or working in advertising should not be considered noble—because we could jolly well live without it, but not without the so-called "demeaning" work (usually left to women and children). Much of the work in this nation is unnecessary—done for making profit for "them as has." Think this over. If we change the false values we live under, we could do menial work without feeling degraded.

—Cora G. Chase  
Vaughn, Wash.

## THE NEED TO KNOW

**I**REALIZE THAT, IN THE INTEREST OF packing each issue of ITT chock-full of juicy information, you must edit each article. However, in compressing my report on the Federal Insecticide and Fungicide and Rodenticide Act (FIFRA), (ITT, "In Short," Oct. 14), you made an error.

One of the two major industry proposals involves the disclosure by pesticide manufacturers of health and safety data—true enough. But disclosure to EPA, as you had the article read, is not at stake; this has always been required. The 1978 amendment that industry wants modified requires them to make the data available to the public. Manufacturers claim the studies are "trade secrets" and say they would suffer harm upon the general release of the data. Their current proposal is to have limited availability of the studies, perhaps in 10 EPA reading rooms nationwide, with restrictions on xeroxing, etc. Various

public interest groups, unions and health professionals want health and safety data to be more accessible, as it now is, especially given the current uncertainty about health effects that may result from exposure to pesticides. The recent indictment of Industrial Bio-Test officials for submitting false health and safety data for 200 pesticides makes a strong case for allowing the public to scrutinize the data.

—Viveca Ekers  
Washington, D.C.

## MAYBE

**I**HAD TROUBLE RECOGNIZING MY social history of the alternative media, *A Trumpet to Arms*, in Paul Ginger's brief review (ITT, Sept. 23). Most troubling was Ginger's conclusion that my book deals mostly with "lifestyles" rather than "political alternatives." Asserting that a book is about lifestyles in a left publication is tantamount to saying it is about the New Look for Fall—i.e., you can forget it.

In fact, *A Trumpet to Arms* deals extensively with the symbiosis between alternative media and progressive movements—chiefly feminism, socialism, environmentalism and socially-conscious elements of the counterculture in the 1960s and 1970s. Those movements offer political alternatives, though widely differing ones, and so do the media I analyze.

Included in my discussion are many current left print media, including *The Progressive* and *In These Times*, and—although Ginger didn't mention it—*Mother Jones*, which I consider similar politically. Maybe your reviewer was miffed because he thought ITT wasn't mentioned enough?

—David Armstrong  
Berkeley, Calif.

## AMEN

**I**MUST THANK YOU, THE MEDICAL Investigative fund, Health/PAC and whoever else contributed to the airing of Ellen Cantarow's six-part series on "Health in America." From the Public Hospital closings, to the unraveling of our occupational health and safety laws, to her sharing the ironic and thankless conditions of her father's battle with cancer, her facts and sentiments sent chills through me. As one with my heart with people's struggles and my feet firmly planted in the public health field, where the coming battle over many health issues will undoubtedly be waged, I feel Cantarow's series laid bare our past and present policies towards health care:

- Health is not a right in this country.
- We don't, as a country, really value prevention over the treatment of a disease after it occurs, and;
- We fall well short of counting the good health of our people as one of our basic natural resources.

I wish I could make the series required reading for some of the students and faculty at the School of Public Health where I am currently studying. As it is, I can assure you that *In These Times* has its place in the public health library next to all of the prestigious medical, technology and human service journals; for my purposes, where it belongs. Thank you, thanks Ellen Cantarow.

—Kathy Devlin  
Ann Arbor, Mich.

## CORRECTION

*Occupied Palestine*, reviewed in *In These Times* Oct. 21, was produced and directed by David Koff, the filmmaker who made *Blacks Britannica*. For more information write Cinema Six Productions, 53 E. Broadway, NY, NY 10002.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.



# PERSPECTIVES

## Writers Congress: holiday straight-up

By Florence H. Levinsohn

**I** EXPECTED THE WORST. IN CHICAGO, where I live, the sectarian left had taken over the organizing for the American Writers Congress and had been given encouragement by the Congress staff at the Nation Institute, even though they had been apprised of the tactics used by this group to try to take over a local writers group in Chicago. The New York people were impressed with the description of the organizing for the Congress that group was providing. (How many Chicagoans actually attended the Congress no one knows. The estimates vary from 50 to 500.) It seemed from all the evidence I put together in Chicago that the Congress would be sectarian. If this was true in Chicago why not all over the country?

Imagine my delight on arriving on Oct. 9 at 8 p.m. at the bar of the Roosevelt Hotel in New York, headquarters of the Congress, to find a marvelously diverse group assembled. Around the television set was a group that included editors and writers—former and present—from *Esquire*, watching the Yankees play (someone recently wrote a wonderful piece about writers' fascination with baseball).

There were writers from all over the country, novelists, poets, journalists, most of them left of center but it was clear from the excited talk that filled that bar that their craft took precedence over their politics. It was all shoptalk—bitching and moaning about editors, about fees, bragging, laughing at gaffs—the usual writer talk. There was serious talk about the effects of the Reagan administration on writers, the threat of censorship, cuts in government funding, repealing the Freedom of Information Act. There was talk about the alarming con-

glomeration of the publishing industry with the trend toward manufacturing and selling books as if they were detergents. How to survive talk.

At the bar and at the cocktail party upstairs at the Roosevelt on Friday night and on Saturday and Sunday through the 56 sessions on writers' problems, there was a feeling of gaiety mixed with awe that we had come together from all over the country to drink and talk together, to overcome the isolation that afflicts so many writers, to share our problems and our pride, too, for most of us feel that the sword is only a pale imitation of the pen. Comaraderie was the order of the day. Not comaraderie of political colleagues but of colleagues in work.

It was, for most of us, a holiday. We don't have much faith that we can alter our circumstances. The status of writers in this country hasn't changed in 100 years. And the pay scale is about what it was 50 years ago—dollar for dollar. On the other hand, this was the first effort to organize writers since the '30s and we couldn't ignore it.

There were some for whom this was very serious business. There were those who had come to organize a writers union who truly believed they could change things, or so it seemed in the talk before the actual union meetings, and there were those who came to politic, who had a variety of hidden agendas. It was in the talk of several who were disgusted at the "playground" atmosphere. "I thought this would be like the '30s Congresses," was a typical remark among these people. The '30s Congresses to which they referred were organized by the Communist Party and were, indeed, political events, addressed to the spreading fascism in Europe, the impending war, and the Depression at home. That these people would have expected the 1981 Congress to be like the earlier ones was not entirely off the wall since the organizers had referred to those Congresses as models for this one.

"These people don't understand the serious political work that needs to be done," the representative from *Muhammed Speaks*, told me, as he prepared to leave early in disgust. Others among the disappointed also left early. But most stayed, hoping to win the day.

Throughout, there was a strong political presence. It emerged in such sessions as "Writers at Ground Zero," in which the responsibilities of the writer in this fearsomely increasing nuclear overkill atmosphere were discussed and in which there was more talk of activism than of the more limited but powerful role of the writer *qua* writer.

It was in the highly successful union organizing meetings that I began to feel as if my worst expectations were being fulfilled. Those who were eager to organize to win better fees, contracts, and a range of rights for their work—the bread and butter issues—were overwhelmed by those who wanted a left-wing union.

An invitation from Lila Garret, a representative of the powerful Writers Guild, to the Congress to submit a proposal to widen membership in that union from movie, TV, and radio writers to include all writers rather than to undertake the immense task of organizing a separate union for print writers was all but ignored. Asked later why it had been ignored, Josh Martin, the treasurer of the fledgling union said, "We want a left-wing union."

Now, there may be good reasons for print workers not to join the Writers Guild. Several people pointed out that

we could not realistically expect that writers earning \$25,000 for one movie script would go to bat for writers earning \$1,000 for a story that might have required far more research and effort. Money talks too loudly, they said. But others argued that a good agreement with the Guild could overcome that problem, that we should do everything we could to share the power of the Guild.

But that possibility was not in the cards. Instead, the organizers were intent on their own path—a left-wing union, in a period of disarray (to put it kindly) of the left, with the few left-wing unions becoming more isolated from the mainstream, when recruitment to a left-wing union would be difficult at best. Pie in the sky. Politics clearly held a higher priority than writers' benefits with this group, despite the fact that there were many present who stated emphatically that they would not join a left-wing union because it would be powerless.

As might have been expected, the strongest presence of the sectarian left emerged in the plenary session, that time in the Congress devoted to politics, intended as internal politics, to elect officers and pass resolutions but extended to

the plenary session long before it ended. "That's all horseshit," was the feeling expressed by many as they walked out on the haggling over the political resolutions. Within three hours, the body was reduced from 2,000 to 200. Even so, the votes on those political resolutions were very close. They won but only by the tiniest margins and it seemed clear that they wouldn't have won had everyone remained in that Grand Ballroom.

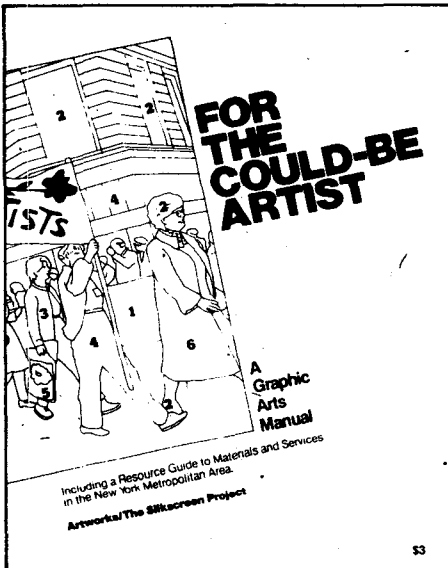
Most impressively, the fringe was noticeable by a couple of glaring omissions. Amidst a list of resolutions to support Latin writers, Southern writers, Iranians, minorities, even the air traffic controllers, there were no words of support for the Polish writers in Solidarity or any of the writers of the Communist world, those in prison and in psychiatric hospitals. Not a word. Dangerous omissions in a Congress that represents the democratic left.

That the Congress as a whole, or that the organizers of the Congress, share the attitudes that led to this omission is highly dubious. But it seems that when the package of resolutions was put together by the organizers, they should have seen that omission and repaired it.

Not that the Congress will be judged



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external politics by those who had that in mind. The session spread over two days, 10 hours. A half-dozen resolutions—out of more than 30—having no recognizable relationship to writers' benefits, were fought out on the floor for hours. That American writers should take a stand on feminism, on nuclear disarmament, on El Salvador, particularly with reference to the press coverage, on the defense of blacks in Southern Africa, on government repression of unions, in support of the air traffic controllers and of the Socialist Workers Party suit against the government is not entirely out of order. After all, we are also citizens of this nation concerned about oppression and this was a place to take a stand, though there were plenty of writers present who doubted the usefulness of these resolutions and voted against them.

Particularly noxious to almost everybody was a resolution to "urge the U.S. Congress to provide material and military aid to" to South African rebels. There were some who wryly suggested that World War II might have been averted if military aid had been sent to Spain. But most people were vehement about deleting that phrase. Even more vehement was the opposition to the call to "boycott writers who go to South Africa."

The actual tenor of the assembly was reflected in the fact that most people left

by its resolutions. In fact, they will probably go the way of all such resolutions, into the oblivion where powerless peoples' attempts to redress grievances by resolution usually land. The Congress will be judged most for the fact of its very existence—3,000 writers getting together to discuss mutual problems. It will be judged by the quality of its discussions. The right will attack it as left wing because it was, in all its discussions, clearly opposed to the practices of mainstream publishing, seeking alternatives, against any form of censorship, for government support of literary work, and for the improved access of many excluded writers. And most of us will cheerfully assent that if those positions are left wing then we are clearly left wing.

But for those of us who cast a cold eye upon organizations in which we participate, the foolhardy, sectarian effort to organize a left-wing union and the failure to present resolutions condemning Soviet bloc treatment of its writers in that context makes us worry about the future of the Congress, assuming, of course, that it was not a one-shot effort and will be the continuing effort, "to fight for writers' rights," that was promised.

Florence Levinsohn is a former Managing Editor of *In These Times*.



## INPRINT

## SOCIAL HISTORY

## The nobility revised

The Persistence of the Old Regime: Europe to the Great War

By Arno J. Mayer  
Pantheon Books, 468 pp., \$16.95

By Margaret George

Arno Mayer's new book is being heralded as a "revisionist" work, bold and original. Mayer announces it himself in his preface. His purpose, he says, is to "develop a new angle of vision and frame of analysis" of the European past, from some unspecified date to both of the "Great Wars."

Mayer outlines in his introduction the main points of this sweeping new interpretation, setting up three premises in staccato succession and aggressively dramatic prose. Upon these he is going to establish the continuity of a *dominant* aristocratic culture—in the widest sense—in Europe from the early modern period to 1917, certainly, and probably to 1939 as well.

The first premise asserts that the two World Wars are "nothing less than the Thirty Years' War of the general crisis of the 20th century." The second premise explains WWI as the "remobilization" of European "ancient regimes," composed of people variously referred to as "nobilities," "feudal elements," the "forces of perseverance." Mayer adds to this premise the assertion that though badly wounded in 1917 these old regimes "recovered sufficiently" in the '20s and '30s to "sponsor fascism, and contribute to the resumption of total war in 1939."

The third, the "major premise of this book," is that the European *ancient regimes* were "thoroughly preindustrial and prebourgeois." The feudal and "postfeudal" nobilities had always distanced themselves from rising bourgeoisies and capitalist-industrialism, he says. They were not only separate and distinct but hostile. In their "cunning genius" the old forces were "sufficiently willful and powerful to resist and slow down the course of history," capable yet of "subduing capitalist modernization, even including industrialization."

On the evidence of his reinterpretation, he says, "historians will have to view not only the high drama of progressive change but also the relentless tragedy of historical perseverance, and to explore the dialectic interaction between them." However, he notes that he has left aside the exploration of dialectic interaction between pre-bourgeois forces and capitalist bourgeoisie. His focus has had to be on the old regimes alone, in order to "counteract the chronic overstatement of the unfolding and ultimate triumph of modernity."

#### Noble efforts.

The book proper is made up of five long chapters. In the first we learn that agricultural production, handicraft or small-scale manufacture and petty commerce were the primary



Alfred Krupp, industrialist

economic realities of all of Europe to 1914, and that the class structures and relationships integral with these realities everywhere prevailed. Here Mayer corrects the "distortion" of orthodox history: second industrial revolution, industrial production, massed urban proletariat, corporate capitalism, finance capitalism—these were but "subordinate elements in civil society."

A second chapter posits dominance of pre-industrial social groups—royal families, landed nobilities, "public service elites"—traditional ruling classes who were feudal or postfeudal in "mentalities" throughout the 19th century.

The third chapter discusses the ubiquity of "nobilitarian" types in key political positions, the continuation of aristocratic control of political place and decision-making in all nations; rising or risen bourgeoisies always accepted this, in deference to their traditional political superiors. And the final chapters have to do with *mentalities*, with "official high culture," classical intellectual and artistic modes emanating from the aristocratic world-view of ideas, attitudes, insecurities and fears. In this too European middle classes were subordinate, meekly echoing their political and social betters in the bellicose elitism of Social Darwinism (shaped by "nobilitarians") and (inevitably) Nietzsche.

As Mayer pulls all of this toward the eruption of the "general crisis" in 1914 it gains in internal logic. At center stage is the "aristocratic reaction," entrenched as monarchs and prime ministers, legislative leaders, generals and admirals, and exploiting old-boy networks in parliaments, bureaucracies, armed

forces, courts, churches, schools. But this power notwithstanding, the "nobilitarians" are running scared. "Admittedly," (there are a great many "admittedly's" and "to be sure's" in Mayer's text) the concentrating force of capitalist industry is eroding the base of their traditional landed wealth; liberal middle class politicians challenge them; they are horrified by the democratic socialism of the working class "plebs." So it is a "grande peur" a "siege mentality," that turns them to the ultimate solution of war. The revisionism thunders at this point: "The inner spring of Europe's general crisis was the overreaction of old elites to overperceived dangers to their overprivileged positions."

Some of this has a nagging familiarity. Years ago, in a little book entitled *Imperialism and Social Classes*, Joseph Schumpeter argued that imperialism was not a necessary policy emerging from the pressures of industrial growth, corporate monopoly and escalating surpluses of investment capital. Instead, he maintained, it was the outlet for the frustrated war-impulses of by-passed yet still rooted sword-rattling European aristocracies.



Alfred, Prince of Windischgratz, Habsburg aristocrat

## Mayer argues the European "nobilities" dominated the bourgeoisie until 1917.

Mayer acknowledges his debt to Schumpeter throughout his book. What Mayer has added to the Schumpeter thesis is a longer claim for the economic power of landed wealth, and the overarching scheme of *grande peur* and general crisis.

What is Mayer revising? Perhaps this is a clue: "I conceive of this book," he writes in his preface, "as a Marxist history from the top down, not the bottom up, with the focus on the upper rather than the lower classes."

Mayer does quote Marx and Engels—without footnotes and out of context—but the fact that the whole of their work had to do with the development of a *bourgeois* world from the 16th century (from the top down and the bottom up) he never mentions. Engels, concise as always, expressed in one sentence a Marxist angle of vision: "The English proletariat," he wrote in a letter to Marx in 1858, "is becoming more and more bour-

geois, so that this most bourgeois of all nations is apparently aiming ultimately at the possession of a bourgeois aristocracy, and a bourgeois proletariat alongside the bourgeoisie." That kind of historical grasp is alien to Mayer's work.

#### Not for him.

Mayer has simply eliminated all of the Marxist scholarship on the "transition" from feudalism to capitalism and the resulting structures of bourgeois society. Not for him the painstaking research that has established the revolution on the land in England, where from the 15th century "capitalist" peasants were buying up and accumulating even strips of the "feudal" lord's *desmesne*, where from the 16th century the lords themselves so enthusiastically approved of the profit gains from peasant land enclosure and crop experimentation that they became super-capitalist landlords and/or farmers (and eventually ousted the original peasant entrepreneurs). Mayer's revisionism rejects Marx and Marxist scholarship, Marxist theory, analysis, dialectic perception. Mayer does not know a dialectical world. His is flat, one-dimensional, static, its entities separate and self-contained. Nobilitarian is nobilitarian, bourgeois is bourgeois, and the only relationship between the two that Mayer can find is "symbiotic."

## SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander





## LITERARY CRITICISM

**The Political Unconscious:  
Narrative as a Socially  
Symbolic Act**

By Fredric Jameson  
Cornell University Press,  
305 pp., \$19.50

By Judith Kegan Gardiner

When the workers at the plant arise, unite and overthrow the bosses in the last scene, we know what to think of the author's politics. But most literature is not like that, and we may even find ourselves bored or impatient with stories that clobber us with righteous leftism as heavy as the tractors on Soviet posters.

How, then, is a socialist to respond to literature? Can we be content to dismiss the great works we love and the light stuff we read merely as bourgeois mystifications? Do we just discard the literature of fantasy as escapism divorced from social reality?

In the past, Marxist literary critics gravitated toward texts that clearly mirrored their societies, particularly in realistic novels, and they scored their clearest successes by connecting the dots between the authors' class backgrounds and the situations of their characters. This approach is liable to be called simplistic. Moreover, since it apparently reduces literature to a reflection of social forces that we already know more clearly in other ways, it makes both literature and literary criticism seem peripheral to left theory and irrelevant to left practice.

But the relationship of culture to social reality is far more important and complex than the "reflection" theory admits. Fredric Jameson's very exciting and very difficult new book provides a major breakthrough in showing us how all literary works—not just realistic novels—spring from social realities and themselves are social realities.

*The Political Unconscious* represents the best of contemporary Marxist literary criticism. Two long theoretical chapters make up the first half of the book. I recommend going straight from the preface to the brilliant second chapter "on the dialectical use of genre criticism" and returning to the pol-

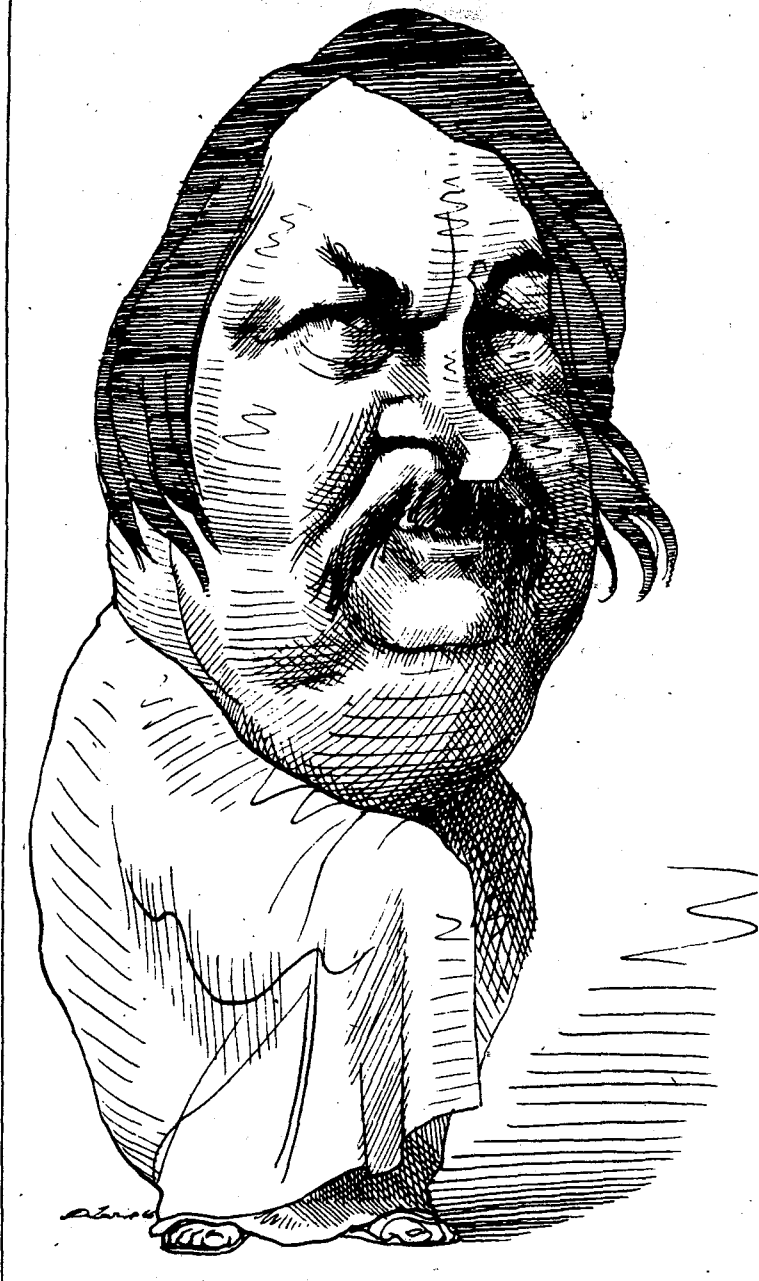
**Jameson goes past "buzz words," speaking to both camps—Marxists and Freudians.**

emical first chapter later. Essays on the novels of French realist Honore de Balzac, the Victorian English writer George Gissing, and the modernist Polish emigre Joseph Conrad comprise the second half of the book.

**Straddling two worlds.**

Jameson's title declares his place in recent intellectual history. Both "political" and "unconscious" are "buzz words" that connote the competing discourses of Marxists and Freudians. Jameson speaks from the first group—in the tradition of

*Did Balzac's novels help create the brutal market world they seem to reflect?*



all human history as a coherent and meaningful narrative, "a single great collective story...the collective struggle to wrest a realm of Freedom from a realm of Necessity."

But given these mighty opposites—Necessity and Freedom, history and desire—how do we locate any given literary work in terms of its specific place in history and its unique attributes? Jameson contends that the work of art starts from a social reality. The author's family mediates the class conflicts and material conditions of its situation for the author, who then perceives and portrays social reality according to the psychology formed in interaction with familial and larger social forces. Yet authors use literature not just to describe what they see but also to "open up a space" that doesn't exist elsewhere, to experiment on the page with reality. Authors imagine conflicts between people by expanding on their knowledge of different kinds of people and the issues relevant to them, and this knowledge is partly shaped and filtered by class pressures. However, the solutions authors imagine for their characters' conflicts can leap ahead of and outside of existing social contexts. Historically, such alternative realities may or may not come to pass, but at the time of their creation they embody some of the yearning for a better life that is the hope of Marxism.

**Romance of Marxism.**

According to Jameson, Marxism is itself a "romance." This means that Marxism narrates the story of history in a particular

way: the "characters" are the social classes. They will battle one another but ultimately achieve a wonderful happy ending for the human community. This happy ending is known to us only through imagination and fantasy—it corresponds to nothing in our alienated experience.

This approach suggests how a Marxist can interpret imaginative literary works, including those called romances. Jameson can analyze and appreciate both realism and romance, showing that both must be understood in terms of the experience of daily life that they reflect and that they seek to hide. That which reveals historicity helps us understand our potential power to change. Therefore ideological analysis of literature, even of apparently apolitical forms, is a political act.

To understand the connection between a work and its times, Jameson claims, the Marxist critic must use ideological analysis to reconstruct the "ideologemes" of a given historical period. He invents this new term, the "ideologeme," to describe the basic unit of ideology in his critical method. He defines the ideologeme as a complex of ideas that is historically determined and that arises from the contradictions of a concrete historical situation. The people holding this concept originally think of it as a timeless truth without being aware of its social sources. The ideologeme can also be understood as a "symbolic resolution to a concrete historical situation." Thus each ideologeme does in part what Jameson says literature as a whole does for culture. Each such concept

## How to read as a political act

Hegel, Marx, the existentialists, the Frankfurt School and Lukacs. But he speaks to the second group as well—showing the structuralist and psychoanalytic critics that he can use their terms, answer their implied objections, and improve on their literary analyses.

This book's fundamental, generating question asks, what is the relationship between literature and history? At a second level of self-consciousness, it explores the relationship between criticism and history. Both questions necessitate evolving better definitions of history.

Marxist esthetics must unite "the experience of daily life with a... 'scientific' perspective," Jameson claims. The "experience of daily life" for Jameson includes history, that is, the objective conditions we find outside ourselves, and "desire," our yearning for a personally fulfilling communal life that is not available to us in any class society. Jameson sets the terms "history" and "desire" in opposition to one another: "History is therefore the experience of Necessity.... History is what hurts, it is what refuses desire and sets inexorable limits to individual as well as collective praxis." And the scientific perspective that we must use to understand the conflict between "history" and "desire," of course, is Marxism. "Only Marxism can give us an adequate account of the essential mystery of the cultural past," that is, of its continued urgency for ourselves. Marxism has this priority because it understands

*Jameson claims Conrad mystified class conflict.*





creates an imaginative solution to a real problem concerning the power imbalances at the time of its creation. Then it mystifies this solution by making it seem universal and transhistorical. And, he chides, every universalizing approach "represses its own historicity."

The Marxist critic must reverse this process. Jameson sees all literature "as a symbolic meditation on the destiny of community." Each individual literary text is also a socially symbolic act in itself, incorporating a specific response to a historical dilemma of its times.

#### Good and evil.

Jameson tests his theory on the genre of romance. Romances, in

*Romances like westerns, he argues, occur in "times of troubles," and express fear of the alien.*

this literary terminology, are fantastic tales like the medieval stories about the knights of King Arthur's court. Jameson also includes in his discussion those updated versions of the form in which the brave men on horseback wear ten-gallon hats and carry six-shooters rather than armor and spears.

He shows that such romances assume a world sharply divided into good and evil forces. This "ethical axis" provides the unspoken rules by which that world works, and is an "ideologeme" that articulates a historical contradiction. Jameson claims that good and evil depend exclusively on the place of the narrator. The Good is the name the self gives its own embattled position as it faces outside threats to its security. The Evil is the feared Other, the competitor. The Other is not feared because it is evil; "rather he is evil because he is Other, alien, different, strange, unclear and unfamiliar." Uncoding this ideologeme reveals the contradiction that the evil outsider obeys the same competitive code as the narrative hero. The enemy is more similar to the hero than different from him. Therefore, as soon as he is unmasked and known to be a follower of the code, he ceases to be seen as other or evil. He becomes one of the band of insiders, a "good guy" who helps protect the subject against the redefined unknown.

This example demonstrates some of the pleasures and also some of the limitations of Jameson's approach. His formulation of the contradictory connection between the other as evil and as unknown is wonderfully illuminating, and his suggestion for the historical grounding of the romance in a transitional "time of troubles" and of decentralized authority is suggestive. However, he has not fully followed through on his own admirable injunction "always to historicize." He draws some fact parallels, for example, between the "transitional" periods of Europe in the 12th century and the frontier American West. These call for more accurate attention to specific historical differences between the periods and

the kinds of romances that were written in them.

At another point in his discussion, Jameson relates the romance division between good and evil to the psychologically primitive preoedipal stage of an infant's life. He contrasts this conflict with the social, rather than moral, opposition of youth and old age in comedy, and he claims that comedy reflects psychologically more mature Oedipal conflicts. Here, again, the imperative to historicize breaks down. Jameson accepts the psychoanalytic description of "universal" infantile experience without situating it within the history of patriarchal child rearing. In another case he sees a "flirtation" with homosexual taboos in a novella as merely a diversion from the really "dangerous and explosive taboo" of interclass marriage. Here a socialist-feminist reader wonders whether Jameson's model of historical conflict is too narrow. Is a threat to the sex and gender system of society really less disturbing than a threat to the segregation of economic classes?

#### Novels.

Jameson's chapters on the novel sketch a history of the novel in relation to the development of capitalism. Balzac, long a favorite of Marxist critics, showed characters bitterly competing for money and status. According to Jameson, his novels helped to create the disenchanted, secularized market world of early capitalism that they claim to reflect.

The late 19th-century English novelist Gissing is currently rising in the academic marketplace of literary reputations. Critics praise his class analyses and his sympathies for women and the poor. Yet to Jameson, Gissing's novels about the working class reveal the author's declassed bourgeois resentment and fear of the workers' rebellion against their "proper place." Thus Gissing's novels reinforce capitalist class distinctions, while they subject them to analysis. Jameson likens Gissing's mature novels to "something like a laboratory space where given characters can be submitted to experiments in a controlled environment."

With his chapter on the novels of Joseph Conrad, Jameson completes his study of the novel as a form that helps "program" the values of the bourgeois individual. Jameson says that Conrad romanticizes, universalizes and hence mystifies class conflict. For example, the sea, a place where sailors work, becomes transformed into an existential metaphor. Conrad's modernism leads to an elite literature in which the bourgeois individual is fragmented like avant-garde prose. But Jameson shows that it also leads to popular adventure tales that covertly resist imperialism through their commitment to freedom.

Jameson claims that he would like his method judged by his analyses of texts. These analyses are fresh and provocative, but sometimes they fail to convince. Moreover, sometimes Jameson's prose seems to cloud over, going jargon-filled and obscure, apparently when he is engaged in arguments with unseen critical adversaries. Yet in its broadest claims, his book succeeds. It stimulates us to share his Marxist perspective on literature and encourages us to understand how reading can be significant political action. ■

*Judith Kegan Gardiner teaches English and Women's Studies at the University of Illinois, Chicago Circle Campus.*

## NOTEBOOK



Cuban students at a school built at the Moncada barracks.

**Women in Cuba: 20 Years Later**  
By Margaret Randall; photos by Judy Janda  
Smyrna Press, Box 1803-GPO, Brooklyn, NY 11202  
165 pp., \$6.95

Margaret Randall, American expatriate poet and journalist and longtime Cuban resident, updates her *Cuban Women Now* with a fact-filled report. (The earlier book was mostly interviews.) The book provides useful data to measure the progress of women—number of women in school, the work force, trade union positions; number of day care centers and hospitals and advances in prenatal care. Appendices include recent legislation. She also describes organizations such as the Federation of Cuban Women and provides sketches of some female artists. Randall soberly assesses the impact of the more dramatic reforms; for instance, she describes the greatest importance of the 1975 Family Code—which required men to work equally with women in the home—as educational. Glossy photos provide hard-to-get glimpses of daily life. PA

**Displacement**  
By Richard LeGates and Chester Hartman  
National Housing Law Project, 2150 Shattuck Ave. #300, Berkeley, CA 94704  
52 pp., \$2.50

Last year more than two and a half million people were displaced from their homes because of rent increases, condo conversions and disinvestment and abandonment by landlords. Richard LeGates and Chester Hartman's study is a comprehensive examination of this growing phenomenon. *Displacement* was reprinted from the *Clearinghouse Review* to disseminate information debunking HUD's 1979 *Displacement Report*. The authors survey data from the latest studies on issues like: Who are the displacers and the displaced? What are the consequences of displacement for those forced to move? And does gentrification promote integration?

J.E.G.

**The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires, 1800-1900**  
By George Reid Andrews  
University of Wisconsin Press,

286 pp., \$21.50

This is a solid addition to the history of the black Americas. Andrews debunks, with social and democratic historical research, the arguments that "Negroes en Buenos Aires no hay," and that blacks virtually disappeared after abolition of slavery through wars, migration and miscegenation. He shows instead that overt discrimination limited opportunities for blacks and suppressed reporting of the role of blacks in society. He draws, for partial explanation, on Carl Degler's theory that racism in the 19th century Americas was more extreme in areas of rapid economic growth. PA

#### Eight Short Short Stories and Sketches

By James T. Farrell  
Art's End Books, Box 152, Newton, MA 02168  
19 pp., \$3.50

James T. Farrell (1904-1979), most widely known as the excoriating critic of American capitalism in his *Studs Lonigan* trilogy and his five books about Danny O'Neill, also wrote poetry and drama, and was a prolific producer of political polemics (originally from a Marxist and later from a right-wing Social Democratic perspective), literary essays, popular journalism, articles about baseball and, most of all, short stories and sketches. This handsome, well-edited small press edition of the latter, which Marshall Brooks was in the process of assembling at the time of Farrell's death, remarkably express certain qualities of Farrell's mind and art that are missed in commercial editions of his work.

These stories and sketches are all less than four pages, and most are less than two. Chronologically they range from Farrell's first published fiction in 1929, "Slob," to a 1971 satirical piece about Andre Malraux called "A Picnic in the Steppes." Two of the pieces, "Pepper" and "Story About a Door," have never been published before. Many of the writings reflect Farrell's well-known fascination with commonplace experiences. Also in evidence in many of the stories is Farrell's enigmatic wit. AW

*Contributors: Pat Aufderheide, John Echeverri-Gent, Alan Wald.*

*Blacks didn't disappear from Argentine history, just from the history books.*





## ART &amp; ENTERTAINMENT

## FILM



Left, a rally of the American Nazi Party and the KKK in Benson, N.C.; right, Gloria Jordan, vice president of the International Chemical Workers local in Laurel, Miss.

# Behind the bluster of the Ku Klux Klan

By Pat Aufderheide

*Resurgence*, an hour-long documentary (with a half-hour version planned for public TV this winter), gives an in-depth, insider's look at two subjects we rarely see treated on screen or TV: union organizing and the growth—again—of the Ku Klux Klan. In this well-crafted film, they're part of the same story.

"We started out with a focus on the Klan," said co-producer and co-director Pamela Yates. "but you walk a fine line between exposing them and giving them publicity. So we looked for a way to place them in a larger context. We looked for the point of conflict—and it was with movements to improve standards of living."

The filmmakers' story begins with a two-year-long strike against Sanderson Farms chicken processing plant in Laurel, Miss. The black women strikers protested low wages and harsh working conditions with the support of a union and interracial civil rights groups such as the Equal Rights Congress. Finally they were given the chance to be rehired, although they did not win their demands. Intercut with this are scenes from a joint American Nazi Party/Ku Klux Klan rally and cross burning, and interviews with the KKK members who killed Communist Workers Party members in Greensboro, N.C.

The link between the two subjects is a bit indirect. A "Kluxer" is one of the Sanderson Farms administrators, and he notoriously uses his KKK standing to intimidate black workers into breaking the picket line. In Greensboro the killers openly pride themselves on having busted a union, especially one that included organizers who were communists. Still, by the end of the film the forthrightly-asserted argument—that right-wing racism is a response to movements for economic improvement—makes sense. Both sides seem to agree that interracial unity around economic issues challenges the *status quo*. They

disagree on the implications.

A speaker at the Nazi/Klan rally asks his audience, "What are we gonna do when Ford folds and GM folds, how we gonna bail them out? We're not. ...When you're unemployed what are you gonna do?...You're gonna see me goin' down the street after the son of a gun that caused it. Africans, blacks, colored, Negroes or niggers..." At a rally protesting the Greensboro murders, veteran civil rights worker Anne Braden, condemning the murders, also points out, "The real danger today comes from the people in high places, from the halls of Congress to the boardrooms of our big corporations."

Filmmakers Thomas Sigel and Pamela Yates apply a battery of snappy, sometimes even gimmicky, techniques to provide context for their stories. For instance they use video displays to relay statistics about the growth of the Klan (from 6,500 to 16,000 in five years) and its activities. Like the false radio bulletins in Peter Krieg's *September Wheat* (a documentary on corporate manipulations of the international grain market) or like the old newsreel announcer's voice styles, the device gives an official cast to the information. They also insert a promotional film for Right to Work states that explains the state support for union-busting better than the filmmakers could themselves.

Not that their material requires many tricks to hold your interest. In a KKK paramilitary training camp, men and women run through basic training exercises and learn to shoot. The rally scenes make your blood run cold, to see the Rotarian-style introductions a Nazi gives Gorell Pierce (the Grand Dragon of the Klan) and then to hear Pierce bluster, "Just look at all these pretty white faces.... The reason you're white is because your ancestors believed and practiced segregation. So that means that your ancestors were racist. Well, aren't you proud of your ancestors that built this country?...I say Lord, I'm so glad great grandpa and them didn't go

messin' with none of them subhumans." The cross-burning, performed to the tune of the traditional "Old Rugged Cross," has a Satanic majesty to it. And the interviews with the Greensboro killers are frighteningly candid. They say things like "I feel like I'm stronger now," and "If I

have to take up arms again, I'll put my life on the line."

Also illuminating, but not as melodramatic as the ritual-happy Klan, are the scenes with Laurel workers, especially interviews with emerging local organizer Gloria Jordan. You come to understand the intolerable condi-

tions in the factory and the firm understanding the workers have of the difference between (and link between as well) economic and racial discrimination. In one revealing moment a black cop tells the women to stop blocking the road with their pickets (they aren't) and they ride him for

## Sex, death and the street kid

By Pat Aufderheide

*Pixote* (Unifilm), about the cruelties of street life for abandoned children in Brazil, seems the perfect foreign film. It has lots of violence, some weird sex, pathos...and the reassurance that it's all educational, because it's all real.

In spite of buyer's cynicism about the marketing of human misery as entertainment, though, I found *Pixote* a moving experience.

Fernando Ramos da Silva, a real-life slum-dweller from Sao Paulo, plays Pixote, a 10-year-old street kid with liquid eyes of doomed innocence. He is exemplary of a widespread phenomenon. A cautiously low estimate suggests there are three million abandoned children in Brazil's 120 million population, mostly living in big cities. Since they only go to reform school if convicted of crimes under the age of 18, they easily become executors of crimes planned by older people as well as thugs on their own time.

Pixote's story, told by Argentine-born director Hector Babenco, co-written with Jorge Duran by Babenco after a novel by Jose Louzeiro, imitates an even more outrageous life. Abandoned child stories seem to cap each other in beyond-belief headlines in Brazil.

### Fragile friendships.

There's plenty enough gruesome stuff in Babenco's early scenes to show you why the boys want to escape the reformatory. One day the cops seize Pixote, his buddy and a dozen others. He returns,

but his buddy, chosen out of a lineup as scapegoat for a high official's murder, shows up dead. The police then beat and kill the lover of flaming gay inmate Lilica, whom they accuse of murdering Pixote's buddy. These deaths state a recurring theme—the careless shattering of friendships created against overpowering odds, relationships knitted from shreds of human feeling.

When they leave, one boy with a crippled leg refuses to go. "It'll be worse outside for me," he says. Hard to believe, from our view of inside, but it turns out that way for others too. A trio of escapees, Pixote, Lilica and Dito (like the other boys, real-life street kids), seem to beat their luck. They make work their play with a happy-go-lucky life of purse-snatching, cocaine dealing and armed robbery.

But everything turns out badly. The coke-deal gets and people die. They fall with a prostitute who might have tumbled out of *Trash*, and Lilica walks out when he sees Dito attracted to her. Dito dies at Pixote's hand when Pixote tries to recoup a failed robbery. The prostitute, who gathers Pixote to her breast in a melodramatic *pieta*, is appalled by this sudden access of human feeling and throws him out.

Pixote is alone and on the road again.

Babenco is no slouch at squeezing melodrama out of his material, or making the most of the gore. He's good, too, at using the sordid to shock. There is a long hold, for instance, on a boy's beaten body lying on a rotting garbage heap. He repeatedly

shows us the remains of an abortion in a filthy wastebasket, and he dwells on the inside of a toilet being cleaned. He is no less lurid with the gaudy pathos of this world's amusement.

But he is also good at granting his characters their humanity without slighting their lack of the minimal moral education. What brings out the horror of that juxtaposition best is the playfulness of the kid-killers—they dash from purse-snatching to splashing in a fountain; dealers can manipulate them by the

*Pixote (right front) and an urchin buddy, caught in a street roundup, meet their jailmates.*





playing stooge for the state in its union-busting campaign—"sending in the black man to do his dirty work," one woman mutters.

### Guns on the table.

The blacks typically look less comfortable with the filmmakers than the Klan representatives do. When people on porches talk to Equal Rights Congress union organizer Ted Quant it looks awkwardly stagey; whereas when the Klan representatives line themselves up, they do so with terrifying flourish.

Of course, they have guns on their side. Yates said that in their first interview with Klansmen there were 20 handguns on the table, that the killers talked to them with shotguns prominently displayed in the background, that they were frisked on entry and that the filmmakers changed the names of crew members who were Jewish. "We never disagreed with them," explained Yates. Why did the Klan let the crew film at all? "We were the only media people in the wake of the Greensboro killings who were willing to stick around and really listen to them."

The Klan is still a tiny phenomenon, but it is symptomatic of dangerous tensions. The joining of the two social issues makes it possible to assess the threat to the social compact that right groups pose, without falling into the scare mentality that the Klan loves to foster. Given that objective, it is too bad that the filmmakers didn't give us more on the local support system for the Klan—not only at the governmental level but also the support, reportedly pervasive, that local businessmen give it.

merest suggestion of parental warmth; they see their armed robbery as hijinks, just like TV, and giggle at themselves doing it.

This is a sensational treatment of a social ill. It bears no relation to an earlier era of socially-conscious Brazilian films (dubbed the *cinema novo*), which were influenced by Italian neo-realism and by Brazilian folk traditions. It resembles only slightly, however, more recent light entertainment films like *Dona Flor and Her Two Husbands*, made without much concern for social tensions in an explosive society.

The Brazilian state-subsidized film distribution agency has heavily backed recent Brazilian production, looking for a stronger international market. *Pixote*, in combination with *Bye Bye Brazil* (which had its moments of critical perception of the cost of progress, along with lots of flash

The high technical quality of the film and its tight construction are no accident. The filmmakers, although they are first time co-producers and directors, have plenty of experience. Sigel and Yates worked as cinematographer and sound recordist respectively on *El Salvador: Another Vietnam*. Sigel has also worked on commercial TV news documentaries. Yates most recently worked on PBS documentaries *Pesticides and Pills: For Export Only* and *From the Ashes: Nicaragua Today*. They began this project after making a network TV special on the Klan, and put the film together with the coproduction help of Emancipation Arts, a West Coast film production company presently at work on the feature *Valley of Tears*. They got money from a variety of sources, including church groups, the American Film Institute and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

Although the Laurel, Miss., workers worked with one union and received support from others, the filmmakers did not consider soliciting unions for funds. "Public TV has a funny history with union underwriting," said Yates. In another case, *Made in U.S.A.*—a projected labor history series, PBS rejected labor union backing, claiming that it was a special interest and the program's integrity could be called into question. "We were afraid that having unions listed on the credits would jeopardize the film's chances of getting on public TV."

For more information contact Skylight Pictures, 330 W. 42nd St., 24th Fl., NY, NY 10036, (212) 947-5333.

and laughs) is creating the right impression, delivering both entertainment and social themes. Further, *Pixote* is cleaning up awards. Brazilian film critics just gave Babenco Best Director and the film Best Film of the year. It won both jury and public prizes at Biarritz and at San Sebastian a special category was created in order to award it a prize.

It deserves that attention, too. The existence of so many abandoned children in such desperate poverty, and of a criminal underworld that preys so expertly on the illusions of people with money is no accidental product of Brazil's military-led regime. But if this film picks up the problem at the level of child-crime, it also doesn't hesitate to show you the conditions that breed it. And it avoids blaming the victim as much as it does the canonizing of criminals.



## PAINTING



Picasso's 1906 self-portrait (he was 25)

# Picasso comes into focus as a master of the unfinished

By John Berger

LONDON

The Picasso exhibition at the Hayward Gallery in London, with its 130 paintings that Picasso kept back for himself during his lifetime, with its numerous sculptures and its marvellously chosen 250 drawings and etchings, allowed me to begin to understand something new about Picasso. Or at least something new for me—after the years I once spent studying his work. I want to try to define this single new insight, although I am aware that to some it may have been obvious from the beginning.

This exhibition seemed to me to confirm most of the points I made in *The Success and Failure of Picasso* 15 years ago. There is a mysterious decline in the intensity of Picasso's art during the last 25 years of his very active life. The many works inspired by Marie-Therese Walter do constitute a sexual declaration, unique in European art. The moment of cubism was a revolutionary moment for the reasons I gave. The loneliness of Picasso in the second half of his life was of the order that I implied.

What I failed to see when writing my book was the importance of a number of works from about 1902 to about 1907. Only five years. But during those five years, in works of haunting power, Picasso laid himself and his vision bare as he was never to do again. And in the '60s I failed to see this because I was too impatient to arrive at the moment of cubism.

Let us take as an example the self-portrait of 1906. Its stylistic ingredients can be analyzed (the catalogue essay by Timothy Hilton is both tactful and perceptive). We can see how it was painted, and where it belongs in the history of Picasso's art. But none of this will explain why you can look at this apparently uneventful image and the tears come into your eyes. Why is it so moving? The young man's expression is solitary, attentive and searching: an expression not untypical of a man of 25, an expression where loss and waiting combine. This is at the level of litera-

ture. What is also happening in this painting—in accord with, but distinct from, facial expression—is that the presence of this being is searching for its physical appearance.

The head and body are pressing towards the visible, are searching for a perceptible form, and yet have not fully found it. They are on the point of finding it. Of alighting on it, like a bird on a roof. It is so moving because it represents a presence striving to become seen.

### Haunted by the possible.

If considered metaphorically, this is a fairly common experience. The extraordinary originality of Picasso during those five years is that he found (stumbled upon but somehow recognized) the painterly means necessary to express this tentative but almost desperately urgent coming-into-visibility. During those years, leading up to the *Demoiselles d'Avignon* and including the first proto-cubist works, he painted and drew image after image that express this first hope for the settlement of the visible.

In the self-portrait certain pictorial devices aid the expression of this just-coming-into-visibility. The way that the flesh-colored pigment spills over the outlines, the minimal, unfinished painting of the shadows, the lines of the facial features, painted on rather than into the face—like figures painted on a vase. ("He is like Adam the instant after he had been created and before he drew his first breath.")

In other paintings of the same period Picasso used other devices. I doubt very much whether his use of them was conscious. The means used were engendered by a profound intuitive conviction, a conviction which, I now believe, lay at the very source of Picasso's activity as a painter. Picasso did not accept visual reality as innate and inevitable. On the contrary, he was always aware that anything he saw might have taken a different form, that behind what was visible lay a hundred other unchosen visible possibilities. Chosen or unchosen by whom? Not of course by the artist, nor by the presence seeking visual form,

nor in fact by God during the days of creation. The question must remain unanswered, but it was in the hope of coming closer to some answer that Picasso, in face of the visible, was always to go on playing with the *possibly visible*, before the visible, as we know it, has been assured.

One can note how later Picasso borrowed from Braque, the surrealists and many other painters the elements of different visual languages. Yet I realize now that his demonic drive for invention, sometimes profound and sometimes superficial, always derived from this fundamental conviction that, in origin, the visible was arbitrary.

Intuitively he separated the energy of growth from the existent. And this separation allowed him to play with the enigma of the pre-existent. Another way of describing the poignancy of the 1906 self-portrait would be to say that it is an image of preexistence, a portrait which is about to give birth to its subject.

I am trying to make clear in words what can only be said or questioned clearly by the pictorial. Picasso's questioning or quest does not, however, simply depend upon the experience of art. It is grounded in other much wider human experiences, especially those in which the energy of the body surpasses the normal disposition of the physical. This is why Picasso was so haunted by and was so capable of creating images of passion and of pain: images in which energy surpasses the existent, images that reveal how the existent, which we take for granted, is never complete.

Picasso was the master of the unfinished—not the unfinished *oeuvre*, but of the experience of the unfinished. If all painting is concerned with a dialogue about presence and absence, Picasso's art, at its most profound, situates itself on the threshold between the two, at the doorway of coming-into-existence.

John Berger is the author of criticism as well as screenplays (among others, *Jonah, Who Will Be 25...*) and novels (*G., A Painter of Our Time*). This article is excerpted from the English weekly *New Society*.



# Canal

Continued from page 13

protection to the North Coast at the urging of the Brown administration, their doubts were confirmed. Valley farmers also felt that the package was too expensive, and decided that lower-cost alternatives, with fewer environmental protections, would be better. In the South, several groups had begun to question the effects of the new water projects on the ratepayers of Los Angeles.

On the other side, the Metropolitan Water District and other water agencies, the *Los Angeles Times*, Southland politicians and the Brown administration all continued to believe that the compromise was fair—based on the traditional concerns of Los Angeles.

## A mixed bag of opposition.

The Coalition to Stop the Peripheral Canal began from a small base. It was organized by environmentalist Lorell Long and Contra Costa county supervisor Sunne McPeak, and initially combined Delta agricultural and business interests, based in Stockton, with environmentalists from Friends of the Earth, the Environmental Defense Fund and the Sierra Club.

Though their petition drive was quickly successful, the referendum at first looked like merely an annoyance, to be disposed of whenever the governor called a special election. After all, the overwhelming majority of votes are in the South, where voters supposedly have been conditioned to believe that their taps will run dry and their lawns turn brown if larger and larger water projects are not built. And vast sums of money could be raised from agribusiness and Los Angeles corporations and developers that would dwarf Northern dollars in a statewide campaign.

But the coalition has received some important boosts. Governor Brown, under pressure, refused to call a special election to coincide with last spring's L.A. city elections. The Farm Bureau and the J.G. Boswell Company, the largest grower of cotton in the world, threw their support to the campaign against SB 200. Consumer and community groups in Los Angeles that for years had opposed the subsidy policies of the MWD also joined the campaign. And a Field poll, taken a year ago, showed a diminishing base of support for the canal. Significantly, that poll and others taken since point towards economic issues as the basis for defeating the canal.

These economic issues will be central to the campaign against the Canal, particularly in the South. The price tag on construction alone is staggering: perhaps \$5 billion, including the interest on bond issues. But SB 200 also authorizes several related facilities, including storage reservoirs, additional canals and new pumping stations. When these facilities are included, the total bill comes to about \$23 billion by the year 2010, excluding cost overruns. Now that the more complex plans for the MX missile have been discarded, the Canal ranks as one of the largest public works ever proposed. And it is all supposed to be paid off by California water users.

In addition, the project will use enormous amounts of energy to pump additional water over the Tehachapi Mountains which rise between the valley and Los Angeles. The Department of Water Resources is already the state's largest single consumer of energy, and it is scurrying to find new power sources. As the price of energy continues to rise and old supply contracts run out, the cost of pumping water over the Tehachapis could become prohibitive—one recent estimate developed by the coalition comes to the exorbitant household cost of \$120 per month. Clearly, Los Angeles consumers would lower their demand for water well before paying such prices, thereby obviating the supposed need for the Canal.

But the most crucial economic issue is the water subsidy system. At present Los Angeles users pay for the costs of development of water sources that they do not use—sources developed ostensibly as a hedge against dry years. The unused water is then sold as "surplus" to agriculture in the San Joaquin Valley, which pays only the energy costs of moving the water. Since L.A. ratepayers are charged for the capital costs of development, the cost to agriculture amounts to pennies on the dollar of the real cost of water. Included among the chief beneficiaries for future "surplus" water are such farmers as Getty Oil, Shell Oil, Chevron, Tenneco and the Times-Mirror Corporation's Tejon Ranch, all of which own thousands of acres in Kern County.

This system led to enormous underpricing of water, resulting in overuse, waste and a highly inflated projection of future needs. As agriculture uses 85 percent of the state's water, a relative improvement in water utilization due to a more reasonable pricing system would result in substantial water savings.

Raising and publicizing the issue of subsidies will be the key to the campaign in the South. In an era of austerity and cutbacks, a large enough minority of Southern workers could swing away from their traditional support of water projects to defeat the Canal statewide. One symbol of the change taking place in Los Angeles is the presence of writer Bob Gottlieb on the board of directors of the

MWD. Gottlieb, soon to publish a book on land and water in the Southwest, was appointed by the left-leaning Santa Monica city council over MWD's objections; he also serves on the executive committee of the coalition. He is joined in the coalition by consumer advocate Dorothy Green, founder of WATER (Working Alliance to Equalize Rates), a Los Angeles-based consumer group that has been particularly effective in criticizing both MWD subsidies and projections of water demand.

## Cracks in the coalition.

But the campaign could fall victim to its own apparent success. The large growers helped bring powerful Republican politicians into the campaign against the Canal, among them gubernatorial candidate Mike Curb, who now supports a less expensive alternative. These interests will obviously help the coalition raise the \$2 million needed to run a successful campaign against the MWD. But, just as obviously, they bring problems. Can a campaign bankrolled by agriculture attack subsidies and propose pricing reforms? Can issues of mandatory conservation and groundwater management be raised when such policies are vehemently opposed by part of the coalition?

This conflict surfaced in the choice of a campaign management firm. Delta and Valley interests in the campaign allied to outnumber environmentalists and urban liberals in the choice of Russo, Watts—a predominantly Republican campaign firm with strong ties to agriculture that recently ran the unsuccessful campaign to unseat San Francisco Democratic congressman John Burton. While the coalition has remained uneasily together, many environmentalists fear that some important issues may get lost.

While still in agreement on the referendum, members of the coalition disagree sharply on their visions of the future. The Farm Bureau is gambling that it can go back to the legislature, presumably under a Republican governor such as Curb, and enact a bill with fewer environmental protections. One possible alternative to

the Canal, for example, is a proposed widening of Delta channels to permit water to move south at much less expense. Without changing any other features of the water system, such a proposal would eliminate the specter of the odious Canal and could stand a chance of passage.

On the other side, environmentalists and urban liberals in the coalition believe that once the Canal is defeated, the only real alternative will be true water policy reform. This reform effort has already been launched in legislation introduced by Assemblyman Tom Bates (D-Oakland), an active participant in the coalition. The legislation was put together by Michael Storper of Friends of the Earth, one of the most knowledgeable water policy experts in the state. It asks the legislature for the first time to consider a basic restructuring of the water pricing and subsidy system that lies at the heart of the State Water Project. So far, this proposal has received a fair amount of media attention, and may achieve credibility as a feasible structural change in the water system.

Of course, all of this debate becomes moot if Southland voters act on traditional fears that their taps will run dry and overwhelm Northern votes in the coming referendum. That fear will figure prominently in the pro-Canal campaign, which will continue to emphasize the imbalance between population and water supply.

Meanwhile, local organizations are being put together, money is being raised, volunteers are starting to work and the issue continues to be in the press. Even the state's current fiscal crisis and important races for governor and for the U.S. Senate are likely to take a backseat to the coming vote on the Canal. And it is at least possible that this will alter the course of California's development and finally break the hold of the wealthy and powerful on the state's water resources. ■ *Lenny Goldberg is a staff member in the California State Assembly and a member of the Coalition to Stop the Peripheral Canal.*

## CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for two insertions and \$10.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 40 words or less (additional words are 35¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Bill Rehm.

### ST. PAUL, MN

#### November 6

Fundraiser for *In These Times*' Fifth Anniversary. Our Guest is James Weinstein, the Editor and Publisher. Join us for refreshments and informal discussion. \$5. 7-10 p.m. at Twin Cities Friends Meeting House, 295 Summit Ave. For more information call George Brackett, (612)588-9532.

### MINNEAPOLIS, MN

#### November 7-8

Farmer-Labor Association State Convention, "Economic Democracy: Defining Our Vision"—Speakers: Paul Wellstone, author of "Powerline," Michael Cassidy, Leader, New Democratic Party Ontario, Sara Evans, author "Personal Politics," Harry Boyte, author "Backyard Revolution," James Weinstein, editor *In These Times*, at Willey Hall, U.M.N., Mpls. Campus, Registration \$10. Contact: FLA 3200 Chicago Ave., S., Minneapolis, MN 55407, (612)823-7081.

#### November 9-13

The Citizen Heritage Center will sponsor "Reclaiming Our Culture and History," an intensive five-day session on use of cultural and historical resources in effective citizen action. Registration is limited to 25, on a first-come basis. Contact: Citizen Heritage Center, 2001 University Ave., S.E., Minneapolis, MN 55414. (612)623-1800.

### NEW YORK, NY

#### November 8

Support the Polish workers! Join labor, anti-war and social activists in an afternoon in solidarity with Solidarity. Tadeusz Kowalik, a Polish economist serving on the National Commission of Solidarity, will be a special guest speaker. Other speakers include: Pete

Camarata, Barbara Garson, Michael Harrington, C.L.R. James, Joanne Landy, Diane Lacey, Conrad Linn, Sam Meyers, Grace Paley, I.F. Stone and Paul Squezy. Reception and entertainment. Washington Irving High School, 40 Irving Pl., New York, N.Y. From 2-6 p.m. \$2.50 contribution. For more information or advance tickets write: S.S.C., 99 State St., Brooklyn, NY 11201. Make checks payable to Solidarity Support Campaign.

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

#### November 15-16

Women's Pentagon Action, Sunday—a women's gathering in Washington. Monday—a demonstration including non-violent civil disobedience at the Pentagon. Contact: WPA, 3991 Locust Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104. (215)386-4876.

### DES MOINES, IA

#### October 30-November 1

Rural Corporate Accountability Research Workshops. Skills training in corporate research relating to local organizing efforts. Registration: \$25 Rural America members, \$40 non-members. Information: Rural America Midwest, 550 11th St., Des Moines, IA 50309. (515)244-5671.

### MADISON, WI

#### November 6-8

Nukewatch conference on campus militarism, with Helen Caldicott, Rebekah Ray, Marion Anderson, Ada Sanchez, more. Co-sponsored by Wisconsin Peace Convention Project. For full brochure & info write: Nukewatch, 315 W. Gorham, Madison, WI 53703, or call (608)256-4146.

### DAVIS, CA

#### November 6-8

"Building the New Student Movement: Issues and Strategies for the '80s." A conference presented by Students for Economic Democracy, featuring Gloria Steinem, Howard Zinn, Tom Hayden, and Kirkpatrick Sale. \$10 pre-registration, \$15 at door. Mail to: SED, 2021 Adonis Way, Carmichael, CA 95825. For more information: Tessa Rouverol, (415) 540-7405.

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STM1



# Utah

Continued from page 24  
 school. Right away distinctions are made among the kids."

## Monday

Leafletting the Temple with Gary was a welcome, if initially intimidating, change of pace. My legs were shaking for the first half-hour. Gary pointed out the two men watching us from inside the temple gate. Later we noticed visitors were being channeled out the opposite gate, so we sent two of our people down to that end. The idea that they were wor-

ried encouraged me.

The contrast between men and women in the LDS Church became all too clear today. It's one thing to read about the patriarchy of the Church (the only position women can hold is in the Relief Society, whose budget is controlled by men). It was another thing to have LDS women refuse to pursue a line of reasoning, or more often, refuse to speak with me. It was something else altogether to have a young woman tell me the Church had put her on probationary status (disfellowship) for having intercourse with a missionary. He reported her and was not disciplined, and he had done the same with two other women. What irked her the most was waiting two years to be back in good standing.

## Thursday

My last day of canvassing. People knew we were coming. As I walked up on the porch of the first house, I heard a voice, "Here come the ERA ladies." It was not friendly. I was back in West Jordan, this time with Judith. I knew what we were in for because of my previous day here, and Becky, who lives in West Jordan, had warned Judith that it was a heavy LDS suburb.

The nasty encounter of the day happened early with an LDS family. Two men working in the yard asked me if I would go to war, and before I could reply, they began verbally abusing us. Judith started to argue and I had to drag her out of the yard, but not before the woman of the house pulled in the drive-

way, spit on us, and said, "I'm glad they didn't talk to me."

The closest I came to losing it during the entire two weeks was with a young LDS woman who insisted we shouldn't say the "LDS Church" opposed ERA just because the First Presidency and Twelve had made opposition official Church policy. Her logic failed me. I told her about Florida, Missouri, Virginia, Nevada, Idaho—all the examples of LDS anti-ERA mobilization I could think of. Still, the all-inclusive use of "the LDS Church" as if all members were anti-ERA made the woman uneasy. Well, good, I thought, and then told her that the politics of the LDS were making me uneasy. I was angry at the Church but sorry for her.

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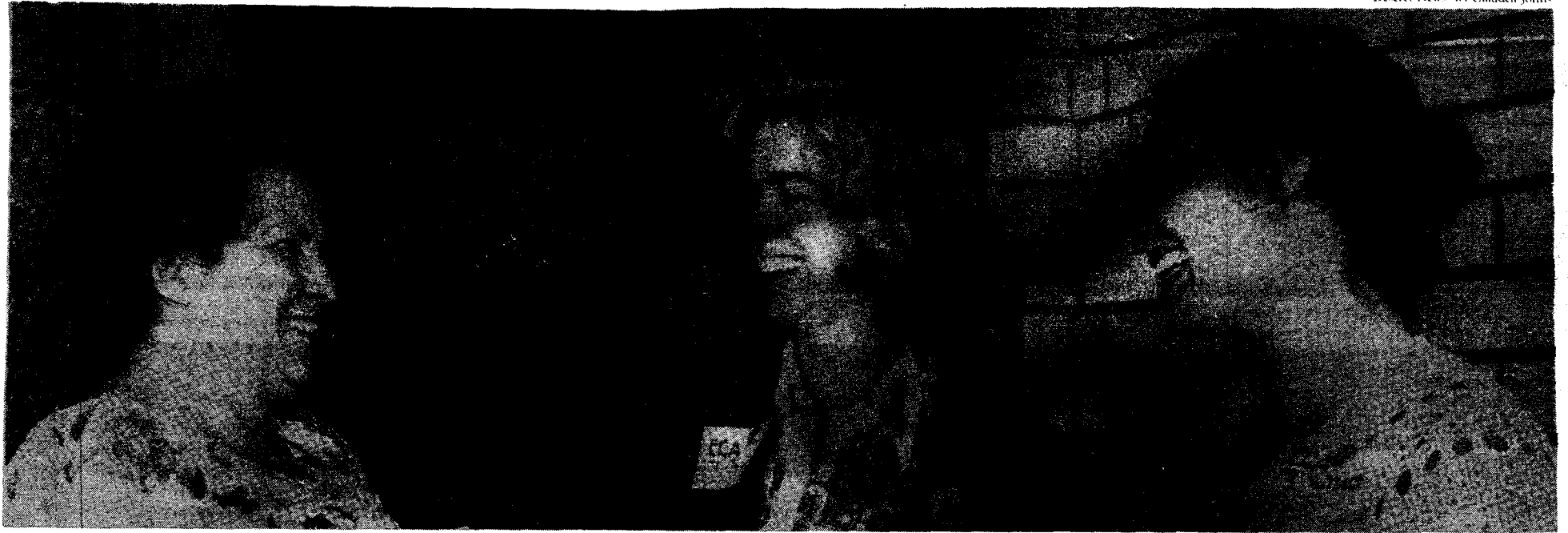
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ERA volunteers play on Mormon missionary tradition (inset left).

# In the Land of the Latter Day Saints

Equal Rights Amendment missionaries are going door-to-door in Utah.

By Julie Dunfey

**I**N RECOGNITION OF THE MORMON Church's "full institutional involvement" against the Equal Rights Amendment, last year the National Organization for Women decided to send missionaries to Utah, home of the Latter-day Saints (Mormon) Church to campaign for ERA. Mormons send their missionaries worldwide and NOW is using the familiar concept to make the public, and Mormons, aware of the political activity of the Church.

LDS leaders have mobilized members in Utah, Virginia, Missouri, Nevada, Florida and Idaho in support of anti-ERA candidates and platforms. From May through October this year, volunteers from all over the country were trained to canvass door-to-door for two weeks in Utah. The volunteers, who work in pairs, ask Utah residents if they are familiar with or have any questions about ERA, and if they will sign a petition to President Reagan in support of the amendment. Members of the LDS Church are also asked to sign a postcard to Spencer Kimball, president of the church, asking him to reconsider his position on ERA.

Following are excerpts from the journal of a volunteer who was in Salt Lake City in July.

## Monday

Alice, a Mormon divorcee, and I had a good first day in Murray. We were apprehensive because each recognized the other as being shy and not very outspoken. After all the admonishments to dress conservatively and be polite no matter what happened, I was even worried about how my sunglasses looked. My nervousness ebbed with the discovery that I was likely to know more about the issue than anyone we'd encounter and with the realization that our politeness worked.

"But I feel equal. I'm taken care of and my husband lets me do whatever I want." I guess this stands out as a typical response. It was spoken by a woman in her early 30s with four children. I briefly explained her rights, or rather lack thereof, in Utah, should something happen to her husband. But at this point her eyes glazed over and she said she was sorry, but it didn't concern her, and besides she was LDS. Time and again LDS Church membership was given as sufficient reason.

This neighborhood had a fair number of retired people, also predominantly LDS. After we introduced ourselves as ERA missionaries, many old women would tell us they were "too old for all that." Sometimes our explanation of Social Security discrimination worked. A few women were afraid to sign because failing eyesight or cataracts prevented them from reading the petition, which made me sad, or because they feared repercussions for or from their grown children, which made me mad (later that same day a woman called the office and demanded that her mother's name be taken off the petition). One middle-aged woman wouldn't sign "because of the prophet," but her visiting mother signed with gusto, giving her daughter an irritated look, and giving us a long story about working in a factory and not earning as much as the man sitting next to her. But on the whole people were not interested in talking. They either signed right away or did not.

The neighborhood we canvassed in the afternoon was lower income, and whether or not people were going to sign, they usually had something to say. One unemployed man signed, with the comment, "Maybe Ron will send me to jail for this. Free room and board." He wished us luck. Further down the street a young Catholic man with a small daughter asked careful questions about the military and signed. "My wife better get equal pay, I can't get a job." We ask people if they are members of the LDS Church for our statistics, but usually someone on the block would point out which houses were Mormon and which were not.

Alice's encounter of the day, the one that made her forget that these two weeks were her vacation from her secretarial job, was with a 92-year-old woman. She was married in 1908 and raised ten children, seven of whom were living and "would take care of me." The conditional was appropriate since she seemed to be doing fine taking care of

herself. Her daughter next door signed the petition and the Kimball card, but asked us to make sure the neighbors didn't see the card.

The next encounter was the one that blew my mind. The house was run down and we weren't sure it was inhabited. A woman who was maybe my age (23), but certainly no older, answered the door. She had four children and was pregnant. Before I could say anything she looked me right in the eye and said, "I don't believe in equal rights. Please leave."

## Tuesday

Statistically, today conformed. Eighty percent non-LDS signed the petition, 30 percent LDS did, and 17 percent LDS signed the Kimball card. The discrepancy between the 30 percent and the 17 percent doesn't quite testify to the fear we ran into. "My brother's a bishop"; "My mother would kill me." Sometimes it helped to explain we were mailing the Kimball cards en masse at the end of the Project. More often the reaction was, "If they want to find me, they'll find me." The official comment from the top of the church hierarchy that kept occurring to me was "The First Presidency and Twelve can declare a particular issue to be a moral issue worthy of full institutional involvement."

In between houses Judi and I talked about Mormon history and Joseph Smith's biography by Fawn Brodie, No

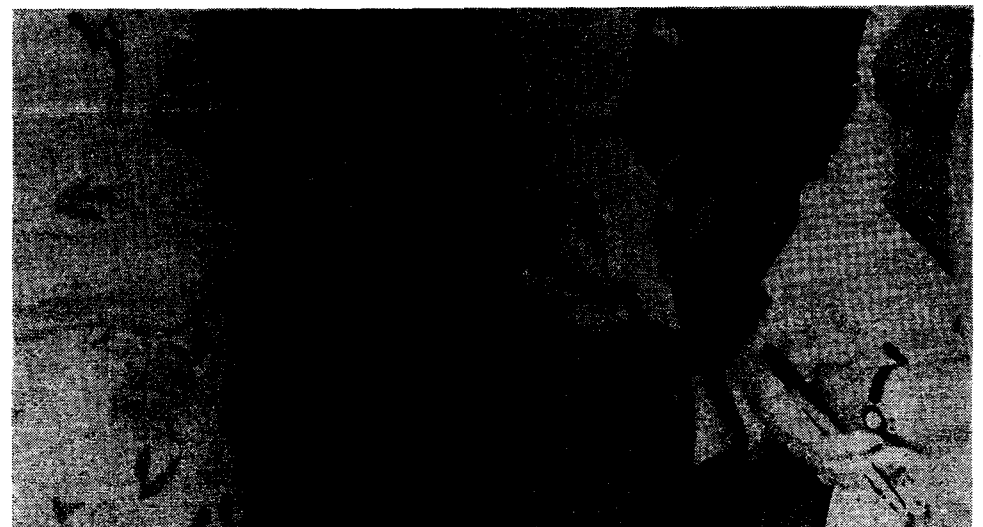
*Man Knows My Story.* I was horrified by both the Book of Mormon and the persecution of the Mormons. The history of persecution helped me understand the tightness of the Mormons and their wariness toward outsiders criticizing the Church hierarchy. Religion, politics and business are wound together in their history and I suspect that the Church leaders (most of whom are businessmen), know that when Utah women are paid 53 cents to every dollar for a man (nationwide it's 59 cents to the dollar), it's an economic issue.

Three encounters sum up the day. One well-to-do woman said her husband believed she shouldn't be entitled to his Social Security because she had never worked (for a wage). Her neighbor invited us in, and signed the petition and the Kimball card. When Judi asked if we could leave some literature, he said, "There's only one other person here, and she's going to have a good laugh when she's heard what I've done." A University of Utah student told us we were full of garbage. "If you think about it, you have everything you want." I explained what my 59 cent button meant and he told me I was lying. He took some literature and we left. Two blocks later he drove over to tell us he'd read the pamphlets and asked if we'd come back to his house to talk about ERA.

## Thursday and Friday

These were our hottest days yet. Janet and I worked a new subdivision in West Jordan where the trees weren't old enough to provide any shade. My tally sheet is dreary, but it didn't seem quite this bad: 80 homes total, 2 LDS for, 11 against, 7 non-LDS for, none against, and the rest were LDS no opinion. One woman read the amendment on the wallet-sized card we gave her, turned it over, and said, "Is this what all the ballyhoo is about?" Two non-LDS families in the neighborhood were bitter about the pervasive influence of the Church, especially where their children were concerned: "The seminary, which Mormon children attend for a few hours each day, is attached to the public

Continued on page 23



ERA Missionary Project workers encounter curiosity as well as hostility.